The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY ARTHUR BULLARD

THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

THE fifteenth week of the war—November 11 to 18—passed with no notable improvement in the position of the Germans. The Berlin reports claimed that the Russian invasion of East Prussia was checked; that a German offensive movement starting from the fortress of Thorn was advancing up the Vistula in northwestern Poland and had defeated the opposing Russian forces, capturing 23,000; that the fighting in this section was as yet indecisive; that the German army which was retreating from Warsaw was preparing defensive lines near the Silesian frontier; and that slight advances, at widely separated points, had been made against the Allies in the western campaign, the most important of which was the occupation of the village of Dixmude.

All of these claims from Berlin were either flatly denied by the reports from the Allies or counterbalanced by more sweeping claims. But, accepting the German version of the week's work as true, it does not amount to much. The Czar can readily replace 23,000 men. Since the capture of Antwerp the German arms have not accomplished anything of major importance.

The unforeseen and unexpected has played an immense rôle in the wars of the past. And, despite the modern developments of the spy system and of aerial scouting, this incalculable element still exists to the extent that any forecast is little more than a guess. But, taking into account only the known elements of the problem, it appears that the German military machine must have reached—or very nearly reached—its maximum strength. The newspapers have published during the week elaborate statements to show that Germany could arm 12,000,000 men. If the war lasts five years, it is extremely improbable that Germany could—during its duration—put half as many men in the field. If she manages to get five million in action, it will be a marvelous achievement, and the majority of them will not be as good soldiers nor as well equipped as those she first used—and to a large extent used up—in her dash into France during the first month of the war. Every week which passes without definite German gains makes the prospect more favorable for the Allies. They are holding the Germans now, and slowly but surely they are getting stronger.

The situation in East Prussia and northwestern Poland is uncertain. The reports from Berlin and Petrograd have been so often misleading that it is necessary to wait a week or so to get any idea of events. It is altogether probable that the German advance from Thorn up the valley to the Vistula will prove a serious matter. An army marching up both sides of a river which divides a hostile force is in a favorable position. If this German advance is not checked, the Germans will in a few days be free to put all their force on either side of the river, blow up the bridges behind them, and, wheeling east, strike at the rear of the Russians in East Prussia, or, wheeling south, fall on the flank of the Russian Center Army, which is now in the neighborhood of the Warta.

The occupation of Pleschen, within German territory, which was reported last week from Petrograd, seems to have been a flash in the pan. The main Russian army has not yet caught up with the retreating Germans, who are therefore having plenty of time to fortify themselves somewhere near the Polish border.

The Russian advance toward southwest

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Poland seems to have been more rapid. Some despatches claim that the investment of Cracow has begun, and even that the town is in flames.

In the western campaign very bitter but indecisive conflicts have raged all along the line. Snow has fallen on the two wings, in the Vosges and in Flanders, where the Allies have opened more dikes and so have increased the inundations. Necessarily the fighting has somewhat relaxed in these territories. In the center, along the old battle-front of the Aisne, there have been a dozen bloody combats, but apparently the alignment has not been changed by ten miles in any place.

The lack of any great military movements this week threw into relief the death of Earl Roberts and the rumored loss of the British super-dreadnought Audacious.

LORD ROBERTS

There is immense dramatic and inspirational value to England in the passing of this aged soldier. He could not have planned a better means for aiding the recruitment of the volunteer army—the cause nearest to his heart—than the manner of his death.

Something of his life and achievements is told elsewhere in The Outlook. Much that was finest in the old ideals of chivalry was combined in his career—a faithful soldier, a courageous gentleman, and as courteous as he was strong. In one of his latest published interviews he said: "We will not defeat the Germans by calling them barbarians." He had small use for vituperation. He knew the strength of Germany and realized the effort it would need to win in this war. His influence over his countrymen will be increased by his sudden death on the battlefield. And ever his influence has been towards the ideal of "a nation in arms."

His death will strengthen the British "will to win," and it will not weaken their military machine. The great soldier of to-day does his work in times of peace. The epoch is long past when the successful military leader sticks a white plume in his helmet and calls on his men to follow it into the *mêlée*. This war will be won—whoever wins—by the work of the last ten years. And if victory comes to the Allies, "Bobs" will deserve his share of the glory, although he did not live to see it and did not give a single order during its progress.

THE CENSORSHIP

It is wrong to expect especially good sense from any department of so senseless a thing as war, but the palm of senselessness will certainly be carried off by the military censors.

The benefits of secrecy in war are obvious, and no one should grumble over such agonizing silences as the general staffs ordain—so long as they have any utility. But everywhere the army officers intrusted with this work seem to have gone a little mad. War is no longer carried on by mercenary armies; it is a national affair, and when the citizens can no longer have confidence in their governments the battle is half lost. Some weeks ago I gave a summary of the reports of the German War Office which was published in the Swiss "Journal de Genève." This influential newspaper, in a neutral country in much closer touch with Germany than we, warns its readers that the German official reports are not trustworthy.

The war offices of other countries have been little, if any, better. On the whole, with the exception of the first weeks, when everything was confused, the French reports seem to have been the most reliable. They have admitted reverses with better grace than any other country. And they have seldom, if ever, been definitely false. But they have been exasperatingly meager. The French censor has come in for very severe criticism from the Paris press. "Le Temps" is typical. Every issue has a number of blank spaces where the censor at the last moment, after the plates were cast, has drawn a blue pencil mark. "Le Temps" has pleaded with the Government for more liberty; it has tried to be scornfully dignified about it; it has threatened. And recently it has tried ridicule—which is proverbially powerful in France. It has published a clever satire, purporting to be a despatch from the front. The censor is supposed to have expurgated even the Lord's Prayer. It has been the rule to excise all names of localities, so the prayer begins: "Our Father, Who art in ——."

But the prime stupidity so far has been the work of the British censor in regard to the fate of the super-dreadnought Audacious. At present the story of its loss is on a par with the early *canard* about Russian troops being brought to England from Archangelsk. It is solemnly vouched for by several "eye-witnesses." Up till the 18th the British Government press bureau has neither affirmed nor denied the report.

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Assuming that the Audacious was lost—and the silence of the Admiralty certainly lends credence to the report—why was the news suppressed? There are two possible reasons: to keep from encouraging the enemy, and to keep from discouraging friends. But the most that could be hoped was postponement. An affair which must have been known to a thousand people could not have been permanently hidden. The fact that the secret was kept so long is the thing which makes it hardest to believe. If it is not true, why not deny it at once? If it is true, the tardy admission will discourage the English tenfold. It is treating the English public as if they were children. Under such circumstances, confident reliance on the reports published by the Admiralty is impossible. And as long as this uncertainty exists every one is asking: How many other of the important British ships have been lost without our knowledge?

BRITISH NAVAL LOSSES

A German correspondent sends me a list of the British naval units which have been reported destroyed. Taken by itself, it is impressive. But it does not justify his hope that the English control of the sea is doomed.

Inevitably the British fleet will suffer more than the German under the existing circumstances. It is forced to take more risks. Most of the German war-ships are very wisely keeping behind the defenses of their strongly fortified bases. It would be quixotic folly for them to take chances. The English fleet must keep to sea, exposed to floating mines, to the attacks of submarines, and the stress of weather.

But the rate of destruction in the Allies' fleets—unless the British censor has hidden an immense number of catastrophes—has not yet become dangerous. Even if no new ships were being built, the present rate of "attrition" would not endanger the Allies' naval supremacy for five or six years, and few people believe that the war can last so long.

The ship-building facilities of the Allies far surpass those of Germany and Austria. If the war gives promise of dragging on long enough to make it worth while, England will be building dreadnoughts, not only in her home ports, but in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia; France, in a dozen ports on the Atlantic and Mediterranean; Russia, in the Baltic, Black Sea, and at Vladivostok; and Japan must also be counted. The Allies have ten ship-yards to every one in Germany, which are at present equipped to turn out the smaller war craft. And, so far at least, the honors have been to mine-layers and submarines. There were already laid down before the war began, in the great ship-yards of the Allies, more ships of every class—almost two to one—than the Germans have under construction. The longer the war lasts—at the present known rate of destruction—the greater will be the naval predominance of the Allies. If Germany is to win in this war, she must—as all her military writers have foreseen—win on land.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN BORDER

A correspondent asks why the Germans attacked France by way of Belgium, instead of going directly across the frontier between Luxemburg and Switzerland.

Immediately after the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 the French Government spent vast sums to fortify this eastern frontier. Four great strongholds were constructed at Verdun, Toul, Épinal, and Belfort. Between them lines of lesser forts were built. The "Military Geography" of our Army Service School has this to say of the first link in the chain: "From Verdun the line is continued along the Meuse, defended by forts established on both banks of that river, known as Forts Genicourt [this fort has, however, now been included in the defenses of Verdun], Troyon, Camp des Romains, Liouville, Gironville, Jouy-sous-les-Côtes, all of which are of the second class. Thus we reach Toul, a fortress of the first class, and situated on the direct line of rail from Paris to Strassburg." This system of fortifications was considered the strongest land defense in existence. The French people placed great reliance in it.

But from the early eighties the attitude of military men towards these giant fortresses changed. There were three principal reasons for distrusting them: First, rapid strides were being made in siege artillery. I wrote in an earlier article of how the French General Staff tested some of its own new guns on the fort of Malmaison and blew it to pieces in short order. It was certain that the Germans had at least as good guns. And further progress was equally certain. A fort which was the very last word in 1890 was sure to be "obsolete" in 1900.

Secondly, the more people studied the Franco-Prussian War, the more the unwisdom

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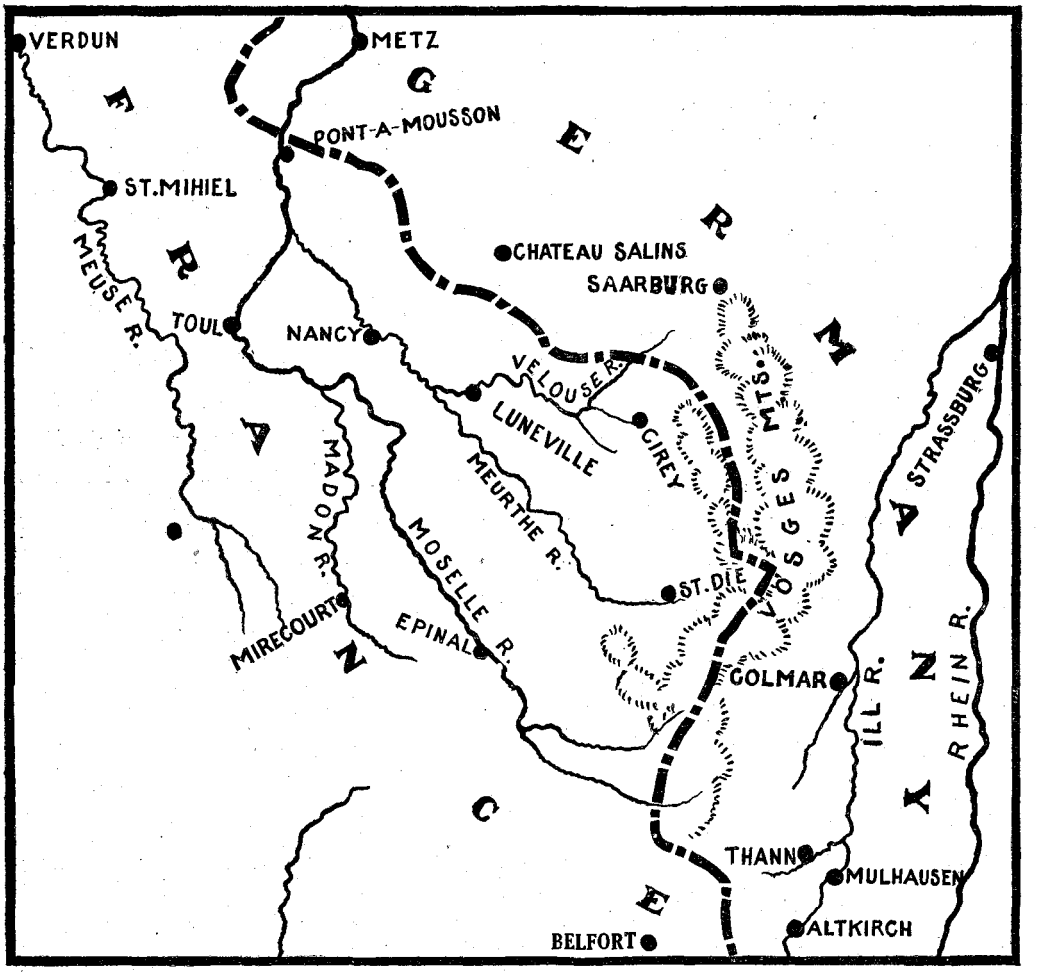

DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY RUDOLPH SCHCENE

THE FRANCO-GERMAN BORDER

There has been uninterrupted fighting in the territory to the east of the Verdun, Toul, Epinal, Belfort line. The balance has swung back and forth. On the 18th of November the French were holding some positions in Alsace in the neighborhood of Thann, on the German side of the frontier, north along the Vosges Mountains and near the frontier to a point east of St. Mihiel. At this point the Germans have forced in a narrow wedge from Metz.

of tying up large forces behind walls became evident. If the garrisons of Belfort, Strassburg, and Metz, and the dozen lesser French forts of 1870, had been with MacMahon at Sedan, the outcome might have been different.

The third reason was that, as France recovered from the utter defeat of 1870, her officers were no longer content with the idea of defensive warfare. It is an axiom that you cannot score victories unless you attack. Money spent on permanent fortifications is just so much national energy which can never be used in assault. The field army is the weapon of offense. It costs less to drill and equip a dozen regiments than to build a first-class fortress. For the price of one of the great guns at Verdun you can have a whole battery of field guns. General Joffre holds the theory that every defensive action is a regrettable interruption in the grand strategy of attack.

But this does not mean that the French have neglected their German frontier. On the contrary, while they have stopped sinking vast sums in such fortifications as the Verdun-Belfort line, they have expended just as much in a form of defense their military experts believed would be more fruitful. Much of the money went in increasing the size and efficiency of the field army, and much was spent in what are called "semi-permanent field defenses." And all the border, the Belgian as well as the German frontier, was

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surveyed and charted down to the minutest detail. The maps of the General Staff indicate the artillery ranges from every hillside. Every bridge and ford and swamp and by-path is indicated, and its military significance noted.

In times of peace the standing army was maneuvered back and forth over all this frontier territory until the officers and men were familiar with every foot of it. The moment war was declared they dashed out of their barracks and advanced till they were stopped by the enemy, and then they "dug themselves in" on lines previously surveyed.

Inevitably we have heard most about the fighting in northwestern France, where the English contingent is engaged. They have been faced by stiff work and have added many a glorious page to the history of British arms. It is not their fault that their part in this war has been vastly over-advertised. It is possible that the English force actually engaged at present numbers 300,000. The 1,250,000 men whom Lord Kitchener referred to in his Guildhall speech are still in training at home. It is doubtful if there are more than a quarter of a million at the front. There are ten times as many Frenchmen. We hear very little about them, because our correspondents are not allowed at the front, and almost all the details we get come from the English papers.

But in this stupendous western campaign the French have been fighting desperately all along the battle front from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier. In only one place have the Germans been able to drive the French back to their line of barrier forts. At St. Mihiel they have forced their way across the Meuse. They have not been able to advance farther, but they have been able to bring up their great siege guns and demolish the French forts within range. With the exception of this one point, the French lines are on or near their own frontier. Their infantry and field artillery, with the help of these "semi-permanent field defenses," have checked the Germans. As far as we know, the heavy guns of Verdun, Toul, Épinal, and Belfort have not fired a shot. The Germans have not yet been able to get within range. When the fog of war lifts, we shall probably find that the fighting and loss of life have been as severe here as anywhere else in the entire campaign.

The reason why the Germans did not enter France by the short routes from Metz and Strassburg was that they could not.

THE TENNESSEE AT SMYRNA

At the very end of the week included in this survey, in the afternoon of November 18, came the report from Captain Decker, of the United States cruiser Tennessee, that the vessel, or perhaps her launch, was fired upon the previous day by Turkish forts at Smyrna. The cause and significance of the fact were not reported, and until they are known it is useless to debate the various surmises sent out from Washington.

New York, November 18, 1914.

THE WEEK

THE NEW BANKING SYSTEM

The new Central Bank of the United States began business on Monday of last week with apparent smoothness and efficiency. We are aware that it is neither technically nor sentimentally correct to call the new Federal Reserve Board and the affiliated twelve regional reserve banks under its jurisdiction a United States Central Bank. It is not technically correct, because the new bank is not so denominated in the Act of Congress which created it. And it is not sentimentally correct, because the people of the United States have been terrified at the bogey of a United States Bank, and have avoided the issue in an ostrich-with-its-head-in-the-sand sort of fashion by adopting the principle of a Central Bank and rejecting the name. As a matter of fact, the new Federal Reserve Board, together with its advisory council, constitutes a very real central bank. It has, to be sure, twelve self-governing or partly self-governing branches, but as time goes on, in our judgment, the tendency will be to strengthen the power, authority, and responsibility of the Federal Reserve Board in Washington so as to make it more and more a central bank.

As we have often said before, the ordinary bank depositor and the ordinary business man or merchant will not be aware, so far as his personal relations with his own bank are concerned, that there has been any change in

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our National banking system. He will simply breathe in an easier financial atmosphere. The dangers of currency stringency and of financial panics (as distinguished from economic industrial bankruptcies) will be greatly lessened. This will be due partly to the larger amount of currency released for circulation, because the new law requires the banks to carry a smaller amount of cash reserve, and partly to the considerable volume of new "Federal Reserve" notes which can be issued as the proceeds of discounted commercial paper.

The twelve new regional banks are now open, and their opening has been celebrated in various ways by the cities in which they are situated. The newspapers announce that these banks are doing large amounts of business; and the facility with which they have begun their work is gratifying both to bankers and to the Administration. The new regional banks, however, will not do business with individuals, but only with member banks and with the Government; the deposits which they are receiving are deposits of the Government, reserve from other banks, and payments of subscriptions to their capital stock by member banks.

Some criticism has been made of the Federal Reserve Board in Washington because it has been too exacting in enforcing the discretionary rules and regulations which are within its power to make. It is true that at the opening of this new system it is the duty of the Federal Reserve Board to proceed cautiously and to guard against unknown and unseen dangers of administration. On the other hand, it is equally its duty to make the new system as facile, simple, and useful as it can be made within the limits of reasonable safety. One of the valuable functions of the Federal Reserve Board at this time is to make the new system likable and welcome to the country. The unavoidable friction of new machinery is inevitably irritating, and those who are running it ought to apply the lubricant of common sense and human understanding.

THE WAR AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Suspecting that the republics of Ecuador and Colombia had failed to prevent violations of their neutrality, Great Britain is reported to have taken measures to protest and to have the failure rectified. Instead of dealing directly with the Governments of those two countries, Great Britain has, according to a report in the New York "Sun," brought its charges to the notice of the United States. The reason for doing this, it is stated, is that under the Monroe Doctrine the United States has assumed responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations on the part of the republics in this hemisphere toward the nations of the Old World. Inasmuch as the United States does not regard as an act of friendliness any interposition on the part of European countries with the governments in this hemisphere for the purpose of "oppressing them, or controlling *in any other manner* their destiny," it is argued that the United States must see that such governments fulfill obligations so that their conduct will not invite such interposition. So in this case Great Britain, it is understood, has turned to us.

If reports can be believed, this alleged action on the part of Great Britain has not been welcome to the State Department. A strong desire for peace naturally brings with it a desire for freedom from those problems that threaten controversy. Therefore, any new problem of this sort must be unwelcome to a Secretary of State who, like Mr. Bryan, has pledged himself to preserve a state of international tranquillity so far as he is concerned.

The Outlook has attempted to obtain confirmation or denial of these reports, but as yet we cannot inform our readers what measure of truth there is in these rumors. Secretary Bryan is quoted as applying the term "misrepresentation" to the view that the United States had no business to make any inquiries on the subject of the neutrality of Ecuador and Colombia.

Whether these charges have been made by Great Britain or not, the United States ought to be prepared to take up the question in case such charges should be made by any of the belligerent Powers. Mere allegations that Ecuador and Colombia have allowed to one belligerent privileges that neutral nations are not supposed to allow are not evidence, any more than the indictment of a grand jury is evidence for conviction. But if such allegations are responsibly made, the question remains whether it is the duty of the United States to inquire into their truth, and whether, if such allegations are supported by evidence, it is the duty of the United States to take any action in the matter.

The Outlook believes that in a situation like this the duty of the United States is to

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do what it always ought to do when the Monroe Doctrine is involved: to invite the co-operation of the three great Republics of South America—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The Monroe Doctrine, whatever it may have been in the past, is now no longer something that merely concerns the United States. It concerns as well these three South American republics. If the Western Hemisphere is to be freed from the consequences of the mutual jealousy and mistrust of European Powers, it is essential that the policy of the United States be one of co-operation between the stable governments of the New World. Every citizen of the United States must hope that in such a policy of co-operation the United States will be expected to lead. Leadership in that form can never be a source of jealousy.

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The Parliament of Great Britain is again in session. Its great event so far has been the Prime Minister's request for a vote for another million soldiers, and $1,125,000,000. The House of Commons granted both of these requests without a dissenting voice.

As to the numbers of men engaged in the war, Mr. Asquith stated that since the outbreak of the war more than 700,000 recruits had joined the regular army and nearly 300,000 Territorials. Apart from the Territorials, about 1,100,000 men are under arms.

Together with the sum voted last August, the present demand brings the total up to an increase of more than fifty per cent in the national debt. The money is to be spent mostly for British army and navy expenditures in the war. They amount to nearly $5,000,000 a day. But a large item represents loans of money to others for war purposes. For instance, the Government's loans to the self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa account for over $150,000,000 of the new credit. But the most discussed items are the loans to Belgium of $50,000,000 and to Servia of $4,000,000, on which no interest is to be charged until the end of the war.

Not the least interesting part of the Premier's speech was his reply to the plea that skilled war correspondents be permitted at the front. He said:

> We must regulate our proceedings by the proceedings of our Allies, who do the chief share of the fighting in the long lines at the front in their own country, and who therefore rightly have the decisive vote as to what should be done in the way of the appointment of war correspondents.

The French Government is excluding all war correspondents, and in this apparently enjoys the entire sympathy of Lord Kitchener, British War Secretary. The papers are quoting, however, Lord Roberts's statement as he was leaving England for the Continent:

> I naturally approve the proposition that all military movements, whatever they may be, should be kept absolutely secret from all our war correspondents; but it seems to me that they should be allowed to receive at least a fair modicum of information. Why not allow them to write, for instance, in detail, of the glorious action fought by our troops—several days, it goes without saying—after these actions have taken place?

Why not, indeed!

LORD ROBERTS

England has lost her most distinguished soldier. It was appropriate that he should die at the front. He died at the headquarters of the British Expeditionary Army in France, whither he had gone to visit the Indian troops. The day before he had viewed the fighting. It was a cold day, and Earl Roberts took a chill which developed quickly into pneumonia.

Frederick Roberts was an Irishman. So was Wellington. But there was a great difference between the two. Wellington did not sympathize with the land of his birth. Roberts, though born in India, was proud of the country which his ancestors had made their home since the Battle of the Boyne.

There was another difference between the two men. One was the embodiment of aristocratic reserve; the other, of warm-heartedness. One was the "Iron Duke;" the other, the idol of "Tommy Atkins."

But there was also a great likeness between the two; for both spared their men in war. And there was another more striking likeness; for each man came to the British Empire's aid at a critical moment.

Frederick Roberts had his education at a grammar school at Carrickmacross, in County Monaghan, Ireland, and his later education at Eton, where it is said of him that he was too small to take part in the games, although

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he became a magnificent horseman. About this Mr. Kipling wrote many years later:

"There is a little red-faced man,
Which is Bobs.
Rides the tallest 'orse 'e can,
Our Bobs.
If it bucks or kicks or rears
'E can sit for twenty years,
With a smile round both 's ears—
Can't you, Bobs?"

Roberts went thence to Sandhurst, the training school for young officers, and thereafter to Addiscombe, the special training school for soldiers taking service under the East India Company. In 1852 he set sail for Calcutta with a second lieutenant's commission in his pocket.

The next forty-one years of his life, except for a few short leaves of absence, were spent in India, and Lord Roberts's description of them in his book "Forty-one Years in India" is probably as good a soldier's story as was ever written.

The lad was only nineteen years old then. He went to Peshawar, where his father was commanding a division, and the father's influence proved the best part of the son's education, for from the elder Roberts the boy learned the value of sympathy in dealing with savage races, and the importance of trying to control men by love rather than by fear. The young man was destined to be a type of the handful of Englishmen who are directing the administration of a country of nearly three hundred million inhabitants.

FORTY-ONE YEARS IN INDIA

Young Roberts was still at Peshawar when the Indian Mutiny broke out. He immediately took the field, first on the staff of Neville Chamberlin, and then on that of John Nicholson. He joined the besieging force at Delhi. He had three horses shot or sabered under him, and was himself wounded. The British were enabled to enter Delhi, however, because Roberts had successfully brought up ammunition. Then Lucknow had to be relieved. Cawnpore had to be reoccupied. Young Roberts took a prominent part in the desperate fighting, and won the Victoria Cross.

Another achievement came when, while General Roberts was in command of the Punjab Frontier Force, the Afghan War broke out. He was sent to subdue the Amir. Though there were more than ten to one against his force, he carried the enemy's strongholds, took Kabul, the capital, and relieved Kandahar.

He received the thanks of Parliament; he was loaded with degrees from English and Irish universities, made a baronet, and later a peer under the title Baron Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford.

In 1881 the South African Boers had utterly routed the English forces sent against them. Majuba Hill became a name of sinister meaning to Englishmen. England was humiliated. She turned to Lord Roberts and made him commander of the British troops in South Africa. But when he reached the Cape of Good Hope he found that the government of the day had already made peace with the Boers.

He was destined to return to South Africa under poignant circumstances. In 1899 England was again humiliated at the hands of the Boers. The British troops had met disaster after disaster. Lord Roberts, now a field marshal, was again placed in command of the forces, with General Kitchener as his Chief of Staff. Just as the commander-in-chief was about to sail, however, the news came that his only son had fallen at Colenso.

Lord Roberts was then sixty-seven years old. Staggering under his burden of intense private grief, he went again to serve his country. His sound strategy instantly proved its worth. Almost with the rapidity with which he had carried out the march from Kabul to Kandahar, he pressed on, relieving Kimberley, defeating Cronje at the Modder River, winning the fight at Poplar Grove, and then entering the capital of the Orange Free State. In twenty-nine days he had moved forty thousand men, twenty thousand horses, and a large convoy across a barren stretch of country seven hundred miles from his base. The entry into Pretoria followed. So did the thanks of Parliament, a grant of $500,000, and an earldom.

LORD ROBERTS AND THE PRESENT WAR

Owing to his great age Lord Roberts did not undertake active service in the present war. But he was constant and effective in his recruiting propaganda. This, together with his record of distinguished military service, called forth the following tribute from a foe. The Berlin "Lokalanzeiger" says:

On the occasion of the death of Lord Roberts the whole German press expresses itself alike,

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appreciatively, about the fallen enemy. Even in war moments occur when the fighter salutes the enemy with the saber instead of striking him with it. Such a moment has arisen with the departure of Lord Roberts.

Lord Roberts's death of course emphasizes the question of conscription in England. Every word which he has spoken for years past about the menace of war has now come true. Every warning he has given has been justified. Because it had not enough trained men at the start, the war's extra strain on the British nation has cost that nation thousands of lives and millions in money.

The voluntary recruiting system obtains in England. Its advocates point to the fact that already not only have a great number of men enlisted, but that because they have *spontaneously* done so and have not been dragooned into it, there is a resultant quality of enthusiasm which makes each volunteer worth any two conscripts. Is not this shown, they urge, by the fact that the British turned the tide of German advance in France?—forgetting perhaps that there are ten times as many French as British. Furthermore, these advocates add, the Government's call for more men has a moral ring impossible to obtain by the conscript system.

On the other hand, all Englishmen agreed with Lord Roberts that it is the duty of every man, high or low, rich or poor, to defend his country in case of national danger. And most Englishmen agreed with him that, to prepare for this duty, there should be universal elementary training for military service in time of peace; that there should be not only physical training in all the schools, but that all boys up to the age of eighteen should undergo some sort of military discipline. But by no means all Englishmen have believed with Lord Roberts that for all able-bodied youths between eighteen and twenty-one there should be a continuous training of at least four months for the infantry, with longer periods for other arms, and that after this training the men should serve in the Territorial Force for three years.

The war came, the force was inadequate, and Lord Roberts was magnanimous enough not to say, "I told you so."

GENERAL CHAFFEE

It is not every day that a man dies who had the distinction of having risen from a soldier in the ranks to that of Lieutenant-General of the army. Such a man was Adna R. Chaffee, who recently died at the age of seventy-two. He was, as has been well said, a composite of the volunteer of 1861 and the cowboy cavalryman of the period of Indian warfare from 1870 to 1891, polished off by his experiences in China, the Philippines, and Europe.

He was not nineteen years old when the Civil War broke out. He enlisted as a private and served throughout the war with his regiment, being wounded twice. After the war he was sent with his regiment to Texas to help watch the French in Mexico. He was afterwards in the Comanche War in Texas, and then scouted and fought in the Indian Territory. The following fourteen years saw Captain Chaffee in Arizona and New Mexico engaged in hard Indian warfare. Finally, in 1890–91, Major Chaffee participated in the Pine Ridge campaign, the wind-up of Indian wars. From 1894 to 1896 General Chaffee was instructor of cavalry tactics at Fort Leavenworth, afterwards becoming commandant at the cavalry school at Fort Riley. In the war with Spain his coolness and intrepidity were especially noted in the capture of El Caney.

In 1900 General Chaffee was chosen to lead the American forces of the Peking Relief Expedition in China. Those who accompanied him on this expedition tell of the impression made by the fine-looking, straight, tall, long-limbed officer, whose vigorous expressions were in harmony with his physique. Although at first some of the foreigners did not understand him, he later was valued at his true worth by Count von Waldersee, the Chief of the expedition, and by the other heads. General Chaffee was quite as frank with Waldersee as with any one, and on hearing that some German soldiers had taken the astronomical instruments from the Chinese National Observatory, he sent Count von Waldersee a sharp note, in which he spoke of the incident as "absolute vandalism of the worst kind."

But the best bit of Chaffee frankness was reserved for General Linievitch, the Russian commander. After the relief forces reached Peking there was a conference of the commanders to decide who should lead the invasion of the "Forbidden City." The Japanese claimed the honor, because their force was the largest; General Linievitch insisted that it belonged to him, because the Russian troops were first on the wall in the

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assault on Peking. That claim angered Chaffee. "You were first on the wall because you violated a binding agreement," he said to General Linievitch. "It was decided that there would be a general advance at six o'clock in the morning, and you advanced secretly at ten o'clock the night before. That is how you got there first."

THE ARMY PROMOTIONS

The promotion of Brigadier-General Hugh L. Scott to succeed Major-General W. W. Wotherspoon as Chief of Staff of the United States army and of Brigadier-General Frederick Funston to fill the vacancy in the ranks of the major-generals left vacant by the retirement of General Wotherspoon has been heartily approved by the army and the public at large, as has also the promotion of Brigadier-General Tasker H. Bliss to succeed General Scott as Assistant Chief of Staff and Chief of the Mobile Army Division. General Bliss is now in command of the forces on the Mexican border, in which position he succeeded General Scott when the latter was called to Washington last spring.

These promotions were announced by Secretary of War Garrison on November 13, and went into effect when General Wotherspoon was automatically retired on account of age on November 16. The announcement was also made that General Scott will become a Major-General next April upon the retirement of Major-General Arthur Murray, and that General Bliss will assume the same rank in November, 1915, when Major-General William H. Carter retires.

These retirements and promotions leave three vacancies in the rank of Brigadier-General, which will be filled by Colonel Henry A. Greene, of the Tenth Infantry; Colonel William A. Mann, of the Third Infantry, now in command of the First Brigade, stationed at Albany, New York; and Colonel Frederick S. Strong, of the Coast Artillery.

General Funston, who is forty-nine years old, is the youngest major-general in the army. He was the youngest brigadier-general when he was appointed to that rank in 1901 from a similar rank in a volunteer regiment as a reward for his services in capturing Emilio Aguinaldo, the troublesome and elusive leader of Filipino revolutionaries. He has been at the top of the eligible list for some time, but has on several occasions been passed over for another man, and his recent promotion was deserved.

General Scott has had a very active career. He is a noted Indian fighter, having campaigned with Custer; has seen service in the Philippines, and was for some time in command on the Mexican border. While in the last position he formed an interesting and more or less famous friendship or acquaintanceship with General Francisco Villa, of Mexican notoriety, and it is credibly reported that he gave Villa lectures on the responsibilities and expected amenities of civilized warfare. He is a master of military routine and theory, but is also exceedingly human and practical and thoroughly understands the rank and file.

ONE OF THE "PRESIDENTS" OF MEXICO

Eulalio Gutierrez, who was selected by the delegates at the Aguas Calientes Conference as the Provisional President of the Republic, but is not recognized by Carranza, is the least known of all the leaders who have figured in the last four years of revolution. Except in his own State, San Luis Potosí, Gutierrez is probably as little known throughout Mexico as he is in the United States. An interesting portrait appears in our picture section.

Along the border the new Provisional President is remembered chiefly as the man who boasted that he would introduce and use the guillotine in Mexico. Gutierrez also, we are informed by a correspondent in El Paso who sends us other facts about Gutierrez, gained some fame in his native State as being an expert at blowing up Federal troop trains, and it was claimed that his activities were chiefly responsible for the failure of the Huerta campaign around the cities of Monterey, Saltillo, and San Luis Potosí.

Eulalio Gutierrez is forty-two years old. He was born at Santo Domingo, State of Coahuila, but has lived in San Luis Potosí all his life. For a time he was employed in the mines near Corero, in San Luis Potosí, and later became a sort of mine boss. From this he branched out into the grocery business, and finally became proprietor of a small general store. He was engaged in this business when the Madero revolution broke out. Prior to this time, however, the new Provisional President had been active in the minor plots against Diaz, and as early as 1902 he was arrested by Diaz for fomenting

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a revolution in northern San Luis Potosí. He was tried at Monterey, and was sentenced to a long term in the penitentiary at Mexico City. At the end of a year, however, he was released and returned to Corero.

At the outbreak of the Madero revolution Gutierrez organized the miners and fought against the soldiers of Diaz. Following the triumph of the Madero revolution he retired to private life and again entered the mercantile business. When the Orozco revolution broke out, he again organized the miners and assisted Huerta in fighting for Madero.

Gutierrez had about eight hundred men under his command when Madero was overthrown, and with these he refused to recognize Huerta, allying himself with Venustiano Carranza. As his troops were poorly armed and he himself was without funds, he was unable to make any stand against the Huerta forces in San Luis Potosí, and so contented himself with harassing the Federals by blowing up bridges and otherwise hindering their lines of communication. It is said to be Gutierrez's boast that he blew up twenty-seven troop trains during the time he was operating against the Huertistas.

Towards the close of the Huerta revolution Gutierrez joined General Jesus Carranza and General Alberto Torres in the siegè of the city of San Luis Potosí. They besieged the city for weeks without success, but when the division of General Pablo Gonzales moved in to assist him the Federals evacuated the city. A message was sent out by the citizens asking that Gutierrez be placed in charge of the city. This was done, and he and his forces have remained there since. Shortly after the occupation of the city Gutierrez was appointed Provisional Governor of the State by Carranza. He has been considered a strong Carranzista, but he owes his nomination at Aguas Calientes to Villa influences. Practically the Aguas Calientes convention was a Villa convention, just as the former convention at Mexico City was a Carranza convention.

THE PROSPECT FOR EMPLOYMENT

Last winter many men were out of work. This winter there will undoubtedly be even more. Last winter conditions were so grave owing to the wide extent of unemployment that an agitation for a serious study of this serious problem swept over the country and culminated in a National Conference on Unemployment in New York City, when experts on industry and labor, representatives of the unemployed themselves, and publicists of all descriptions came together and vowed that they would never let it happen again.

But it has happened, or rather it is happening. In a statement to The Outlook Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, who is perhaps closer to the man-out-of-work than any other authority in the country, confirms this, saying:

"Undoubtedly there will be far more unemployment this winter than there was last winter, which was the worst season in years."

With the exception of one State, New York, and a few scattered cities, very little has been done to show that the public learned anything from the example of a winter that provided the spectacle of municipal lodging-houses overcrowded and bands of the jobless roaming city streets and in desperation violently invading churches in the hope of getting relief.

The general apathy of the public toward this important problem is deplorable when it is considered that nineteen States with well-ordered systems of public employment bureaus have proved that the trouble is largely curable. The failure of Congress to act, particularly in the face of the certainty that the European war would greatly increase the number of men and women that might normally be expected to be out of work, is inexcusable, especially when it is remembered that an excellent bill providing for the establishment of a Federal Employment Bureau, with branches throughout the country, had been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Victor Murdock.

This bill had a favorable hearing before the House Labor Committee, but was pigeonholed when the Federal Industrial Relations Commission intimated that it was about to study the unemployment situation. Unfortunately this Commission failed to present a bill of its own, and the result is that Congress adjourned with the Murdock measure still in committee and nothing accomplished to alleviate the certain suffering of the winter that is now setting in.

As intimated above, New York State has established a thoroughgoing system of agencies to bring the job and the man together, under the charge of a thoroughly qualified expert, Mr. Charles Barnes. And New York

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City is about to open the largest and most finely equipped employment agency in the country, with another expert, Mr. Walter Sears, as superintendent.

The enterprising city of Duluth continues to set an example as to the wisdom of so arranging its public work that it will take up the seasonal slack of unemployment. Authorities all agree that one of the easiest ways of minimizing the extent of unemployment is to have all public improvements undertaken at the time of year when normally jobs are scarcest, but Duluth is one of the few American cities that have pursued this wise course.

THE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

The conclusion of the National Woman Suffrage Convention at Nashville, Tennessee, left this organization under the presidency of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. This is her tenth term in this important office. The result of the Convention as a whole was to strengthen the hands of the more conservative members of the Woman Suffrage Association.

It has long been the policy of the Association to keep clear from affiliation with any of the organized political parties of this country. Contrary to the spirit of this policy, an attempt was made at this Convention to establish a blacklist of Congressmen who through party ties or personal desire were fighting the cause for which the suffragists stand. This proposition was met by the adoption of the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority on the question of woman suffrage."

Resolutions were also adopted urging Congress to take up at once the pending Constitutional amendments for the enfranchisement of women, and to enact immediate legislation to protect the rights of women citizens who marry unnaturalized foreigners. Women were also urged to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

FOOTBALL MORALS

A football player recently was ruled out of a game for slugging. A little later a man was sent out from the side lines to take the place of another player. This new substitute's face was almost covered with strips of adhesive plaster. It was noticed that this new man played with special skill, and it was later discovered that this fellow whose face was so well covered was the one who had been disqualified.

Sharp practice of this sort might in a certain period of the past have been ignored and even considered praiseworthy. What happened in this case, however, shows that that time is gone. As soon as the fact was discovered, an investigation by the athletic authorities of the institution which the disqualified player represented was at once begun. It was discovered that the captain of the team was disabled for the time being and did not know what had happened, and that the student manager of the team was in the field house. The coach of the team, however, not only knew of it and acknowledged it, but said that he was responsible for it, and justified himself because it accorded with his standards as a professional. The Athletic Committee, consisting of three members of the Faculty, acting in conjunction with the Student Council, immediately dismissed the coach. The big game of the year was yet to be played—the game with Rutgers; but there was no hesitation on the part of the authorities or the representative undergraduates in this action. This happened at Stevens Institute, the well-known technical college at Hoboken, New Jersey. The undergraduate paper, in the course of its comment on the game, had this to say under the title "A Protest :"

> Stevens may not be able to have a winning football team. She may not be able to have many victories in lacrosse, baseball, or track, or be rated as a power in the college athletic world. But there is one thing Stevens can have, has had, and, it is to be hoped, always will have as long as the red and gray is worn—clean athletics.

In the course of this action Dr. Humphreys, President of Stevens Institute, put aside his class-room work until the thing was settled. The occurrence has served a very good purpose, and has been of greatest credit to Stevens Institute.

In connection with this we cite another instance, which we like to believe is expressive of a growing spirit in American athletics. In the game between Fordham University, an important Catholic institution in New York City, and the University of Vermont, each side

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made a touchdown. To the uninitiated it should be explained that after a touchdown, which is reckoned as six points, the side that makes it is allowed the privilege of a try at goal, which, if successful, adds one more point to the score. After the touchdown made by Vermont the goal kicker was successful, and seven points went to Vermont's credit. After Fordham's touchdown, however, there was a difference of opinion whether the goal kicker had sent the ball between the goal posts or not. One of the officials declared that he had, the other that he had not. Most, if not all, of the reports of the game gave the score as a tie. At the first opportunity a mass-meeting of the Fordham students was held, and it was unanimously voted that the game should be recorded as a victory for Vermont. The Fordham students preferred to accept defeat than to have recorded against them any discourtesy to a visiting eleven, or any uncertainty as to their right to a point credited to them.

Minor matters these, perhaps, from one point of view, in the news of the day; but they are really not minor in any real sense. The men who follow sharp practice in athletics are the men who are willing to escape moral obligations in business provided they can avoid legal compulsion, who turn sharp political tricks provided they can do so without penalty, and who make of treaties "scraps of paper." The men who follow the other practice, illustrated by the undergraduates and authorities at Stevens and Fordham, are the men on whom must depend business confidence and business morals, from whom alone the country can expect any progress in political honesty and public service, and to whom the world has to look for the substitution of international confidence and co-operation in place of war.

SEEING RED

"The question whether it is a criminal offense to carry a Harvard banner in parade has recently become acute in Cambridge." This sounds jocose; but whatever joke there is in this quotation from the "Harvard Alumni Bulletin" has been supplied, not by the editors of the "Bulletin," but by the Legislature of Massachusetts. By an Act passed in 1913, this dignified and serious body wrote into the laws of the Commonwealth this provision:

No red or black flag, and no banner, ensign, or sign having upon it any inscription opposed to organized government, or which is sacrilegious, or which may be derogatory to public morals, shall be carried in parade within this Commonwealth.

The significance of this law lies in the fact that the red flag is supposed to be the symbol of Socialism, and the black flag the symbol of Anarchism. A Socialist society in Fitchburg was preparing for a rally, and its members had started a parade, one of them carrying the society's flag, which bore the inscription, "S. S. O. Saima, Fitchburg, Mass.," meaning in English the Finnish Socialist Branch, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. The bearer of the banner was arrested, tried, and convicted under this law. The Supreme Court of the Commonwealth upheld the conviction. In rendering its decision, Judge Rugg declared that the statute "prohibits the carrying of red and black flags absolutely, and does not make this prohibition dependent upon the nature of the inscription," and further explains that "the carrying of flags red or black in color is forbidden, and also the carrying of other objects having the inscriptions or characteristics described." The fact that a flag has merely a red background, with a harmless inscription upon it, does not relieve it from the prohibition; for, says the Court, "if the flag is of the forbidden color in its essential and dominating characteristics, then the mere circumstance that it bears also an inscription or device of another color is not enough to prevent its being a red flag." According to this law, then, no people parading in Massachusetts can carry the merchant flag of our friendly neighbor Great Britain, or the flag of Morocco, or the flag of our Eastern friend Japan, or the flag of the peaceful Swiss, or the flag of Turkey, or Siam, or Egypt, or, what is most ironical, the original flag of the American colonies. If an auctioneer wishes to advertise his business by instituting a parade and carrying his symbol, he is stopped by this statute, and of course the crimson banner of Harvard College is banished from the streets of its own city.

To the credit of the spirited undergradates of Harvard, acquiescence in this remarkable law has been complete on their part. When their football team defeated Princeton, a body of undergraduates marched under a white banner with a crimson "H."

Of course the staid old Commonwealth of Massachusetts has been in recent years much disturbed by finding that it has to deal with

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elements in its population who, though they have not the advantage of Puritan traditions, have applied to their economic conditions some of the revolutionary spirit that the Puritan fathers applied to the political situation of the eighteenth century. Once upon a time revolution was fashionable in Massachusetts, but now anything that can be regarded as a symbol of revolution must be so thoroughly put out of sight that the flag of the British merchant marine, and the Swiss Republic, and what the "Harvard Bulletin" describes as the flag of the "harmless, necessary auctioneer," must be eliminated at the same time.

The difficulty is that these serious-minded legislators have thought that they could deal with what they regard as a disease by dealing with its symptoms. They may have to learn from their own experience, rather than from the experience of others, that the repression of attempts to express ideas is sometimes the best way to give those ideas wider currency.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH CONGRESS

The thirty-second session of the American Church Congress, recently held in New Haven, was especially interesting because the place of assembly was Trinity Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Harwood, who was largely instrumental in organizing the Congress forty years ago, was once rector. It was an outgrowth of the feeling among open-minded and broad-minded members of the Episcopal Church that there was needed an opportunity for the free discussion of matters vital in the life of the Church, and a platform from which laymen as well as clergymen could be heard. It has offered organized hospitality to new ideas as well as old ones.

The topics discussed at New Haven showed the disappearance of most of the old ecclesiastical questions, and the coming to the front of questions vitally affecting the joint life of the Church and the country. Especially valuable was the urgent appeal for closer watchfulness over the immigrant, and a more thoroughly organized service to him. The widespread destruction abroad will send a new wave of immigrants to this country; and we have not only to deal intelligently with these immigrants, but with the far-reaching impulses of cosmopolitanism. Race prejudice continuing in this country may have a very serious meaning for the Nation, and it is impossible to escape the fact that the most potent influence in keeping race prejudice alive in American communities is religion; and the deepening of religious activity may, under certain conditions, increase the difficulties of the problem. There is demanded, therefore, constructive human fellowship between the Christian churches and the immigrant. The immigrant must be brought up to the standards and into the associations that make American patriots. In a word, we must make the immigrants our neighbors if we are going to allow them to share our destiny.

Attention was called to the fact that St. Bartholomew's Parish, in New York, has for many years maintained the work in Chinese, Swedish, German, and Armenian congregations with foreign ministers in the churches; but children trained in this way have not come into the American Church. Bishop Greer is deeply interested in the use of the chapels at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine as centers of work among the foreign peoples of the city, with a definite object of bringing the foreign children as quickly as possible to membership in English-speaking parishes.

The discussion of the religious problems in schools and colleges evidenced the growing conviction that the religious element must in some way be emphasized in education in this country. The need of college churches in the great academic centers, especially in the universities of the West, was emphasized. The "Relation of Christianity and the War" brought out the expression that the war was "a stupendous example of misdirected, misinformed self-sacrifice." The Rev. Mr. Shipman, formerly chaplain at West Point, declared that peace in the hearts of men and among the nations is one of the essential features of the kingdom of which Christ laid the foundations; but that he put righteousness first, not peace. There can be no peace while unrighteousness has the upper hand.

THE PANAMA EXPOSITION

President Morse, of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, has asked the Mayor of New York to lend assistance in silencing rumors which have spread throughout the country that, on account of the war, the Exposition is to be postponed. Mr. Morse says that, notwithstanding the war, the exhibitions from foreign nations will be as important and as numerous as ever; that at least ninety-five per cent of these nations have already completed their arrangements

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for exhibition; and that their applications request the use of more space than can be assigned to them. The rumors of postponement are entirely without foundation.

The Exposition ought to be more largely attended than any of its predecessors. Travel to Europe will be reduced to a minimum. Indeed, if the war continues, it is likely to be almost negligible in comparison with its volume in previous years. Many Americans who are familiar with Europe and unfamiliar with their country out of their immediate neighborhoods will now have their attention directed to the scenery and civilization of their own country. The Exposition will be a focal point for Americans from every section from Maine to California. Overlooking the superb Bay of San Francisco, it is in a way a key to some of the most impressive scenery on the continent.

Either going to it or coming from it, most Americans will have the opportunity of seeing the Grand Canyon, which in point of scale and sublimity holds a place by itself in the scenery of the globe; while the Yosemite Valley, less sublime, but on a great scale also and of a singular beauty, is easily accessible from San Francisco. These impressive landscapes are only two features among the many things which Americans from easterly points can see on a journey to the Pacific Coast. Entirely aside from the display which it will make of the art and industry of the world, the Exposition ought to be an immense educational influence in the development of National feeling and in familiarizing Americans with their own country.

It is gratifying to know that the Japanese exhibit will be one of the most complete on the Exposition grounds, and it is hardly necessary to say that it will be one of the most artistic and beautiful.

THE RAPID ADVANCE OF PRISON REFORM

The latest and most important testimony of the year as to the rapid advance of prison reform was presented by the recent meeting of the American Prison Association at St. Paul last month. This annual Conference brings together the wardens of prisons, the superintendents of reformatories, and the managers and directors of all manner of corrective institutions, both public and private. It was very evident from the tone of the Conference that many old and harsh theories of prison discipline and administration are giving way to a newer and more liberal philosophy of punishment. Wardens and superintendents vied with each other in St. Paul in the recounting of successful and even hazardous experiments with the honor system, and the dominant note of the Conference was, not only that a "man's a man for a' that," but that the man inside the walls deserves recreation within proper measure, consideration of his intellect and his loyalty, and, within reasonable limits, a share in the minor governmental affairs of the prison's daily life.

The persistent and thorough study of individual inmates, with the compilation of personal histories reaching back to early life and continuing into and during the full period of parole, was urged particularly by representatives of the Massachusetts Reformatory Prison for Women, where already very complete records are kept, not for the sake of keeping records, but for the sake of saving souls.

Finally, the question of the revision of prison architecture was raised, and it was asked whether the huge cell block and the high wall are not passing, before the small-group plan of housing inmates and the wall-less prison camps with their healthier and more cheerful dormitories.

On one day of the session the most modern and complete example of the American prison of to-day was practically formally opened at Stillwater, Minnesota, by the excursion thereto of several hundred members of the Conference.

DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY PREPARATION; THE IDEAL

Those who define a soldier as "a man trained to kill some little girl's papa" may naturally contend that in a democracy there can be no "ideal" of "military preparation." On the other hand, those who contend that war will always and rightly remain an inevitable corollary of human existence may as easily assert that a democracy is incapable of scientifically preparing for war.

Between the position assumed by the extreme pacifists and that taken by Friedrich von Bernhardi there is indeed a great gulf fixed—a gulf, by the way, into which The Outlook sees no need of stumbling. We believe that as much is to be feared from what may be properly called "the religion of dishonor" as from what ex-President Eliot also

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castigates under the name of the "religion of valor." No one has stated this more clearly than President Eliot himself, in his recent open letter to the New York "Times:"

"Extreme pacifists shrink from fighting hell with hell and advise submission to outrage, or at least taking the risk of being forced into resigned submission. The believers in the religion of valor, on the other hand, proclaim that war is a good thing in itself, that it invigorates a nation become flaccid through ease and luxury and puts in command the strong, dominating spirit of a valid nation or race. What is the just mean between these two extremes? Is it not that war is always a hideous and hateful evil, but that a nation may sometimes find it to be the least of two evils between which it has to choose? The justifiable and indeed necessary war is the war against the ravager and destroyer, the enemy of liberty, the claimant of world empire. More and more the thinkers of the world see, and the common people more and more believe instinctively, that the cause of righteous liberty is the cause of civilization."

It is because The Outlook believes that righteous liberty in this world demands more than the mere lip service of our great democracy, that righteous liberty in the end can be obtained only through the spread of the democratic ideal for which this Nation stands, and that the spread of this ideal depends not only upon the desire and the will but also upon the power of our people, that we have long advocated the adequate military preparation of our American democracy. We believe that those who seek international righteousness through national impotence are brothers to those who might hope to abolish individual murder by abolishing the civil police, or fires by the abolition of insurance.

If we grant, then, that in the present state of our civilization military preparation is a vital necessity to and a normal function of a just democracy, there remain two practical questions: What are the obvious demands which this military preparation must stand ready to answer? How can we best harmonize this necessary preparation with the material means and the spiritual genius of our Nation? The first of these questions is one which in detail must be left to the decision of the technical experts in the two arms of the service. It is one, however, upon which The Outlook hopes in future editorials to present such authoritative information as it can secure. The second of these two questions is one which more intimately concerns the individual citizens of this country, and one in the solution of which his political voice will have weight—and possibly value. Neither question can here, however, be intelligibly discussed without a brief definition of the problem that daily faces the military experts of our army and navy.

This problem has been defined by our military authorities somewhat as follows: The geographical position and the political responsibilities of our country indicate that to maintain our policies and protect our interests at home and abroad we require both an adequate navy and a well-organized and sufficient army. The function of the first is to secure and maintain the command of the sea. To accomplish this, its strategic value must not be destroyed by depending upon it for the immediate defense of our coasts. The use of any part of our fleet for this local purpose defeats the chief object of naval power. A fleet unsupported by an army is unable to secure the fruits of naval victory; a fleet defeated at sea is powerless to prevent invasion. The solution of the problem of national defense lies, therefore, in the provision of suitable land and sea forces and in a due recognition of their co-ordinate relations. Furthermore, in determining the organization of the land forces of the United States, it must be borne in mind that these forces are, and must be, divided into two distinct parts. First, the army on service beyond the territorial limits of the United States, in Panama, the Philippines, and Hawaii; second, the army within the territorial limits of the United States. The first, since in time of war it cannot be reinforced, must be constantly maintained at a strength sufficient for its expected task, and upon a full war basis. The standing army within the territorial limits of the United States must be prepared to meet the first threat of an invasion, and must furthermore be definitely organized with a view to ultimate expansion into such a system of trained reserve forces as our National interests in war time may require.

In loyally supporting the officers of our army and navy in their efforts to find a solution for these difficult problems, the question which The Outlook raised in its editorial of last week may again be properly asked—Will the solution of this problem require us to depart from the traditional military policy of the United States? Unless a fulfillment of this

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policy may be defined as a departure from it, the answer must be, No. In theory we have given our coasts to the protection of a navy adequate to the safeguarding of our National interests. In practice we have depended upon a navy of fluctuating importance and efficiency. In theory we have voiced our belief in a small standing army and the ability of our citizens themselves to bear the ultimate brunt of foreign aggression. In practice we have at times permitted this small standing army to lapse into innocuous insignificance, and have failed, with a consistency worthy of a better cause, in providing for the organization of our constitutional militia into any kind of a definite and dependable military reserve.

It is to be remembered (a fact sometimes forgotten) that all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five are by our Constitution subject to military duty, and theoretically a part of our National defense. Those who are at all familiar with our military history, however, know all too well how remote is this theory from the fact. It may not be too much of a digression in this connection to quote from some of Washington's letters to Congress during the Revolution. The problem that confronted him at this time was one which confronted the Union and Confederate commanders at Bull Run, a battle which left the victors only less disorganized than the vanquished. It is one which would confront any present-day general who should attempt to repel an invasion with our still legally existent, but still largely unorganized, militia.

Washington wrote on September 2, 1776, to the President of Congress as to the causes of defeat at the Battle of Long Island: "The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers have gone off—in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time." And again, later, he writes: "To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff. Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life, unaccustomed to the din of arms, totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill (which is followed by want of confidence in themselves when opposed by troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge and superior in arms), are timid and ready to fly from their own shadows."

After five years of experience Washington voices his opinion as to the cost of our devotion to the idea that a man plus a gun equals a soldier. He wrote: "Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning which . . . had been capable of discipline we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776 trembling for the fate of America. We should not have been under the necessity . . . of fighting Brandywine with an unequal number of raw troops, and afterwards seeing Philadelphia fall a prey to a victorious army. We should not have been at Valley Forge . . . destitute of everything, in a situation neither to resist nor to retire. . . . We should not have been the greatest part of the war inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing opportunities to ruin them pass for want of a force which the country was able to afford, and of seeing the country ravaged, our towns burnt, the inhabitants plundered, abused, murdered with impunity from the same cause."

In remedying such a condition as Washington thus described in words that still ring true after the passage of a century, there exists for the United States not only a paramount duty, but a paramount opportunity and inspiration.

Through the solution of this problem and the realization of an ideal often professed but never fulfilled, there exists for us a mine of character development that until to-day has been left virtually untouched.

Through the effort to obtain for our country a vertebrate military policy there can be likewise obtained for our people a social efficiency, a discipline, a sense of international responsibility that, guarded and guided by our instinctive faith in the ultimate triumph of justice, will do much to hasten the day of "the parliament of man and the federation of the world."

Though it is by this larger ambition, perhaps, that the plea for military preparation may ultimately find its most adequate justification, the more immediate effects of such an effort are not to be lightly ignored. The sense of social solidarity that comes from the assumption of a just responsibility, the mental training, the physical benefit that will result from a proper and democratic utilization of our potential resources for defense, all these

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are phases of the question that crowd forward for discussion, and most of which form an inevitable corollary to the production of an adequate military reserve. The principles and methods by which this reserve can and must be organized we leave to a later editorial.

THE PROBLEM OF VERA CRUZ

The chaotic condition of Mexican affairs, political and military—and, unhappily, the two terms are in this case almost synonymous—will soon compel the United States to face the large question of formulating a consistent theory regarding its future policy toward Mexico. Meanwhile the immediate, specific question as to our withdrawal from Vera Cruz has demanded solution.

Almost four months after Huerta's resignation it was officially announced at Washington that our troops would be sent home on November 23. Unless for the second time a change is made in the plan of withdrawal, the evacuation will have taken place before these lines are read.

What reason justified or made necessary our continued military occupation of Vera Cruz for those four months which does not exist now? The fall of Huerta admittedly did away with our demand of reparation for an insult to our flag. It also removed the argument for retention of troops in support of the Administration's "Huerta must go" policy. If the presence of troops at Vera Cruz has been of use in protecting American and foreign life and property, what good reason is there to suppose that such need has ceased to exist? The same question may be asked as to the Administration's proper demand for assurance that Mexican authorities shall not reimpose taxes on Vera Cruz already collected by the United States, and that Mexicans who have helped in local government under our authority shall not be persecuted. Carranza has given this assurance in a reluctant and half-hearted way, but who knows whether he will control Vera Cruz next week? Gutierrez, recognized as Provisional President by Villa, but denounced by Carranza as a "rebel," has made an excellent general statement of his purpose to protect life and property; but if he or Villa has made specific pledges on the points raised by our Government, we have failed to see those promises. As we write the future of Vera Cruz is as doubtful as that of Mexico at large—and that is saying a great deal. Even if last week's apparently *opéra bouffe* proposal is carried out, and Villa and Carranza, whose forces are drawing ominously nearer one another in battle array, should leave the country and meet in Havana—even if this comes to pass (and no one dare predict what may not come to pass in Mexico), the fate of Vera Cruz is uncertain.

The real and sound reason for continuing our forces in Vera Cruz after the fall of Huerta is as forcible to-day as it was on July 17, when Huerta resigned. It is that our Government ought not to relax its hold or influence on Mexico until a government is established there which it is willing to recognize at least as the *de facto* ruler of the country. We have an enormous responsibility as regards Mexico—under the Monroe Doctrine, for the security of our own citizens in Mexico, and because it is of vital importance to our own future that Mexico should be at peace and should advance toward self-government. In particular, we are responsible for Mexico because it is due to our influence that Huerta has gone and that Mexico is in the hands of the so-called Constitutionalists, divided as they are between rival leaders. Vera Cruz is an outpost of American influence; to abandon it under the present condition of turbulence and factional warfare is a blunder.

A SOCIALIST BISHOP

Bishop Spalding, of the Episcopal Missionary District of Utah, who was recently killed by the reckless driving of an automobile in Salt Lake City, was in the prime of his life, a man of unusual vigor, of courage and devotion. He was near-sighted, and was crossing the street in front of his house to mail some letters when a powerful motor driven by a young girl struck him and killed him instantly. The manner of his going was in a sense a matter of indifference to him; but it has involved a tragic loss, not only to the Church, but to the country, and especially to Utah.

At a memorial meeting recently held in Salt Lake City men of every creed expressed their gratitude for the service which he had rendered, one of the most appreciative tributes coming from a prominent Mormon. The character of Bishop Spalding may be inferred from the statement that he was the

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most dangerous enemy of Mormonism in Utah, and was also the best friend of the Mormons. He had the courage of a man of entire consecration; love was to him a compelling power not only of service but of truthfulness. He was an ardent Christian Socialist, and in season and out of season he pressed upon his own Church what he regarded as the Gospel applied to social conditions. A tall man, square-shouldered, muscular, carrying the atmosphere of human comradeship, with a very clear mind, great power of analysis, and admirable ability to state his position in lucid language, Bishop Spalding was a notable figure on every occasion when he was present and in every assemblage in which he took part.

The most striking address delivered at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church held in New York a year ago was his talk in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on "Christianity and Democracy." Whether men agreed or differed with him, they were all aware that the man in the pulpit was a modern Savonarola challenging his Church to search its conscience and confess its shortcomings. Such a talk in a cathedral, from a clergyman wearing the robes of a bishop, would have been notable in any event. Bishop Spalding made it notable by reason of his sincerity and fearlessness. There was neither fanaticism nor demagoguery in his address. It was as far removed from the onslaught of a radical labor agitator as it was from the smooth utterances of a conventional ecclesiastic. Those who heard him felt that the challenge could not be evaded. He did not hesitate to charge that religion has been supported out of profits, not out of wages, and therefore the workers believed that it represented the capitalistic class. He did not hesitate to call the General Convention a convention of capitalists. "We worship," he said, "in a great church like this, and it makes us forget the slums just over the way; we wear our holy vestments, and we forget the millions who have only rags to wear; we debate our canons and names, and we forget the toiling workers who are pleading for a living wage; we discuss hymns and prayers, and we forget that there are ten thousands of thousands whose hearts are too heavy to sing and whose faith is too weak to pray;" and he declared that the Church "must accept the charge which industrial democracy has discovered, that labor and not capital is the basis of production."

The fact that such an address was made by a bishop in a cathedral is the very best evidence that his Church is not afraid to hear these fundamental questions discussed, nor to face a direct challenge from a man who believed in a changed social order. Whether Bishop Spalding was right or not, whether the changes in society which he urged would remedy the evils he deplored, are open questions; but the force of such a personality as his cannot be ignored, nor can its influence be measured. His was a voice that crossed whatever chasm there is between wealth and poverty, between the cathedral and the slum. He carried the same message to rich and poor. At a meeting of Socialists in Salt Lake City his criticism was as fearless as it was in the Cathedral of St. John. Speaking to a hostile audience which jeered him, challenged his honesty, and almost insulted him, he made a searching exposure of the fallacies of syndicalism and destructive anarchism. On Labor Day he spoke in St. Paul's Church, Salt Lake City, with thrilling earnestness; and when his body was laid in St. Mark's Church in that city, thousands of working people crowded the church from morning until night. One who knew him well said of him:

"No one could long be in his presence without pronouncing his soul pure white, his mind clear and far-seeing, and his heart the clean, glad, responsive heart of a boy."

HAVE WE LOST FAITH?

A woman writing to the New York "Evening Sun" asks: "Have we lost faith? We prayed for peace and do not get peace. Why? Have we lost faith, and is that the reason why our prayers are ineffectual?"

What is faith?

Is it faith in God to believe that we know what the world needs better than he does, and that he ought to take our counsel and do as we bid him? Is the prayer of faith "Not thy will but mine be done," or is the prayer of faith "Not my will but thine be done?"

To have faith in God is to believe that he knows what his children need; that he dares to allow them to take their own way and learn by bitter experience the lesson which they would not learn from teaching; and it is so to learn that lesson from this terrible experience that it will never have to be again repeated.

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THE UNPLEASANT WRITER

Mr. Bliss Perry wrote a very pleasant essay a few years ago on the "Cheerless Reader." Has the Cheerful Reader, he asked, followed the Gentle Reader into that past into which so many delightful books and people have gone? The newspapers are giving a good deal of space to-day to letters from readers, and it must be confessed that many of these letter-writers are neither polite nor illuminating. Many of these communications are so conspicuously free from sweetness and light that one is tempted to ask what has happened to the Pleasant Writer. Has he become extinct, or is he waiting for the angry mood of the day to pass and give him his chance again?

There are those who dare to hope that the ill temper of the past decade may vent itself in this terrible war; and that, when the blackness of darkness with which it has covered the world has been dissipated, the sky may be clear again and the air of the age more genial. However that may be, it is certain that the past few years have been depressingly unpleasant in temper.

The astrologers and soothsayers who have been warning us for several years that the conjunctions of planets were ominous, and that plague, famine, and war were waiting to scourge us, have had many confirmations of their predictions of coming evil. The air has seemed to set the nerves of the race on edge, and differences of opinion of every sort have seemed to breed bitterness and provoke angry and abusive speech. The man in the country store who boasted that his wife was "the evenest-tempered woman in the county —she was always mad," might safely have generalized from his domestic experience; the tendency to "get mad" on the slightest provocation has been so noticeable that the question has been seriously raised whether the world is not being ravaged by some form of hysteria, as it has been more than once in the past. Have the Flagellants come back, but with a changed method in their madness—beating others instead of beating themselves?

The war has had the appalling quality of an earthquake; it has silenced all differences and set personal feelings in a perspective so vast that they seem insignificant and even ridiculous. Anger at one's neighbor has neither reality nor dignity when both your houses are burning. Only four months ago Irishmen were waiting to spring at one another's throats; the dignified House of Commons heard language of almost unprecedented violence, and English congregations had become accustomed to seeing shrieking women carried out of church by force. In France the Caillaux trial had threatened to breed a bitterness as hateful as that which gave the Dreyfus case a psychological interest out of all proportion to its intrinsic importance. In this country the righteous determination to put an end to abuses had shown a tendency to become a passionate vengeance, and in some quarters the suffrage debate had become a bad-tempered wrangle; anti-vaccinationists and anti-vivisectionists showed surprising agility in abusing those who differed from them; international questions, instead of evoking clear thinking and a sense of unusual responsibility, were made occasions for violent attacks on the character and spirit of other peoples. In the Balkans a war which had reason as well as instinct behind it had been marred by shocking cruelties, and its dignity of purpose was lost in the hideous fratricidal strife which followed.

And it must be said frankly that some of the writers who have presented the German case in the present war have so wholly lost their temper that they have confirmed the charges of arrogance, intolerable conceit, and offensive manners which have been made against their countrymen who have succumbed to the Prussian military spirit. The Unpleasant Writer was at his worst in this communication written to a New York newspaper:

Sir: For the opinion of the large majority in this country we can only express contempt, since it is composed of the veritable offscourings of Europe. Let me remind you of the celebrated dictum of Professor Garnach, of Dresden: "The population of America comprises some eighty-five millions, many of whom are human."

We G[illegible]ans thoroughly indorse him, and I feel confident that America will have cause to regret her inexcusable attitude toward our glorious Fatherland. The German memory is a long one.

"*Deutschland über Alles.*"

There is no reason, so far as the public is concerned, why a bad-tempered and bad-mannered man should not go off in a solitary place and give his ugly mood full and free expression; but why should a newspaper give him the opportunity to impose his

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offensive temper on the public? Such a man would be put off a trolley car; why should he be allowed access to the public through the columns of a high-class newspaper?

There ought to be the widest opportunity for sharp criticism, for the most vigorous protest against any kind of public opinion; but no room ought to be made for ill-natured, abusive, and violent people. They contribute nothing to public discussion and their manners are intolerable. The writer of this note, who is evidently one of those whom he calls the "offscourings of Europe," has not only lost his temper but his sense of humor as well.

The tragical explosion of ill temper, hatred, and bitter feeling in Europe may clear the air of the murkiness which has diminished the pleasure of living of late years, and cure society of the attack of hysteria from which it has been suffering. Meantime the suppression of the Unpleasant Writer will rid the public of a needless infliction and foster the growth of good manners.

THE ENGLISH PRESS

FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

EVEN if only a quarter of the stories concerning atrocities committed by German soldiers told are true they would demand investigation by neutral authorities, and I hope that they will have such investigation. Unfortunately, however, news is not infrequently printed which oftentimes turns out to be mere rumor.

For instance, the "Westminster Gazette" had a detailed report of a most revolting atrocity which it was asserted had occurred in Belgium. It related to an English nurse, alleged to have been killed by Germans with bestial cruelty. The following night the "Westminster Gazette" stated that the story was a hoax, that the nurse in question was actually in England and had never been in Belgium!

This affair shows the need of confirming all reported facts. A great English statesman says: "I do not believe three-quarters of the stories I see about atrocities. Some of them may be straight lies. More are probably due to an unhinged mind." This is doubtless true, but the trouble is that the publication of every rumor makes the confiding reader feel that all the stories of atrocities may be judged by it.

On the other hand, one often notices an effort to be fair in reporting the news. An evidence in this direction—and, as well, a fine example of reportorial enterprise—is the column published daily by the London "Times" and entitled "Through German Eyes;" in it various bits of German opinion are literally translated from German journals.

On the reportorial side, however, English papers have to struggle with the censor. They are complaining about this. They are, they say, not treated fairly. The censorship suppressed, they assert, any mention of General von Hindenburg's victory over the Russians in East Prussia, and the news reached England only through a casual letter printed in a provincial newspaper. Says the London "Daily News:"

> Our own correspondents' accounts of the fall of the Liège forts were held up in London for days after the facts had been published both in Dutch and in German papers; on the other hand, other messages describing the heroic resistance of the fallen forts were passed unchecked on to an unsuspecting British public who alone in Europe were unaware that the resistance of which they were reading had ended days before. All newspapers are anxious to co-operate with the censor in the national interest. But we do desire very earnestly to urge that there are dangers in a censorship which irritates neutrals unnecessarily and conceals from the British public what is known to the rest of the world.

The same journal thus protests against the suppression of the war correspondent:

> At the beginning of the war the Government devised a method of reconciling the nation's just demands with military interests by accepting a list of war correspondents. These were to be under the control of a press officer, and all their messages were to be censored before despatch. They have bought horses, engaged servants, obtained equipment, and made all necessary arrangements. Two months of war have passed, but they have not been allowed to cross the seas. . . . The point of view of the public is that all news of the war should be published which is not injurious to military interests. That is not due simply to an idle curi-

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osity, but it is a mere act of justice to our soldiers who are fighting so gallant and so arduous a fight, and to the nation at home, which must sustain the struggle by sacrifices of money, and, as they are needed, of men. To keep the nation instructed is therefore as proper, if not as important, a part of strategy as to keep the ranks of our forces at full strength.

The papers, however, are not protesting so much because of particular facts as because of the general official attitude.

Now as to the editorial side of English newspapers. Here, too, there were certain miscalculations before the war began. Perhaps the principal one was the theory that because the German Socialists in the Reichstag, one hundred and ten strong and the largest body in that Parliament, had defied the Kaiser, therefore they would not fight under the Kaiser!

In the next place, as to religion. Public opinion in England has too long been fed by papers like the "British Weekly," with which everything German seems anathema. To such papers the very name Germany is apparently only a synonym for rationalism.

Again, practically every English editor found in the name Nietzsche a synonym for German philosophy; in the name Treitschke, a synonym for German political ideals; and in the name Bernhardi, a synonym for German military ideals. Yet has any one of these men affected more than one class in the Fatherland? Indeed, Nietzsche is both disliked and despised by most Germans; and no German writer of the same class, it is held, not even Hauptmann, has been as much affected by Nietzsche as has been the Russian Merejskowsky.

As the war progressed most editors seemed to be agreed as to the following conclusions:

1. Prussian militarism is striving to set its heel on the whole of Europe.

2. England, France, Russia, Belgium, and Servia have thrown their forces into the field in resistance.

3. German victory might mean the absorption of Holland, Belgium, and the northern parts of France into the vast German Empire.

4. It would also mean the ultimate disappearance of the British mercantile marine from the seas.

5. It might mean the loss of South Africa and India.

6. It might even result in the absorption of the British Isles into the German Empire.

7. Before that could come about England might have to witness the scenes at Louvain repeated at Canterbury or Cambridge, and English villages would have the same tale to tell of murdered women and children and old men as Belgian villages have told.

As in Germany there are those who would wipe out the British Empire entirely, so there are those in England who would wipe out the German Empire and who counsel the crushing of Germany for good and all.

It is a satisfaction, therefore, to find this protest in the London "Times:"

To crush the Germans as a whole we must either kill them all or occupy their countries permanently. . . . We have to draw the teeth of this Prussian monster, to humble a military caste, and to leave Prussia herself at the peace with the Constitution which she has so long sought in vain. In these reasonable aims we shall sooner or later have large sections of the German people with us, and our ends can then be more quickly attained. But to kill or everlastingly to police a nation of sixty millions of people is an extravagant proposition, and in war one must aim at what is attainable and not the reverse.

Especially fine is the "Church Times" with regard to reprisals:

To meditate the gratuitous humiliation of a great people or a mere demonstration of our own power and glory would be to imitate the worst faults of our foes and to prepare for ourselves that recoil of outraged feeling which in the long run proved fatal to the insatiable ambition of Napoleon.

Perhaps the most picturesque diatribe has come from Mr. Frederic Harrison. He writes thus to the London "Times:"

Be it understood that when the Allies have finally crushed this monstrous brood, the Kaiser—if, indeed, he chose to survive—shall be submitted to the degradation inflicted on poor Dreyfus. In presence of allied troops, let his bloodstained sword be broken on his craven back and the uniform and orders of which he is so childishly proud be stamped in the mire. And, if he lives through it, St. Helena or the Devil's Island might be his prison and his grave.

To this the London Spectator replies as follows:

We have no objection to a little rhetoric, but here is a specific suggestion for committing a bombastic and theatrical personal outrage such as our forefathers, thank Heaven, absolutely refused to allow in the case of a worse sinner, the Emperor Napoleon. Remember, too, how, when Blücher wanted to blow up the Pont de Iéna, and had actually mined it for the purpose, Wellington balked him by putting a British sentry on the bridge and daring him to blow the

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gallant fellow into smithereens. Again, remember how John Lawrence met the wild proposals for fantastic vengeance made to him during and after the Mutiny. He would have none of them on any condition. But if these reasons are not sufficient for condemning Mr. Frederic Harrison's outburst, surely he might remember that we have not yet beaten the Kaiser.

The main fact to be borne in mind in this country is that England's claim is the noble claim of fighting the fight of civilization against an excess of militarism. If this is really to be the fight of civilization, there must be some self-control shown in the repression of any desire for reprisals.

On the other hand, both reportorially and editorially, there is often a distinct effort on the part of certain journals to give a comprehensive picture, not only of the war, but of news about the war. For instance, the London "Times's" Washington correspondent reported the rejoinder of Herr Dernburg to England's invitation to the United States to "come in" and get a share of the trade of ruined Germany, Herr Dernburg saying that the invitation had been made "because Great Britain, with her usual perfidy, wishes to get the United States to take sides, so that America will not be able to act as mediator, and the war may thus be prolonged."

As the correspondent frankly admits, "Herr Dernburg has cleverly availed himself of the weak spot in our armor. The suggestion that the United States should come in and share the commercial spoils of war should never have been made and ought not to be repeated." Equally candid is the "Westminster Gazette." It says:

Herr Dernburg is decidedly the most clever of the special pleaders for Germany in the United States. He has been dealing in the New York "Sun" with the suggestion that America should share in the process of picking up the trade lost to Germany. Obviously, as he hints, there would be more trade to pick up by the outsiders if the Allies were defeated. This is a clever turning of the tables upon a suggestion that had been better left unspoken.

This spirit of fairness also animates the highest authorities in military and civil life. Take the military as revealed by General Sir John French's report:

The Germans are a formidable enemy. Well trained, long prepared, and brave, their soldiers are carrying on the contest with skill and valor. Nevertheless, they are fighting to win anyhow, regardless of all the rules of fair play, and there is evidence that they do not hesitate at anything in order to gain victory. A large number of the tales of their misbehavior are exaggerations; and some of the stringent precautions they have taken to guard themselves against the inhabitants of the areas traversed are possibly justifiable measures of war. But at the same time it has been definitely established that they have committed atrocities on many occasions, and they have been guilty of brutal conduct.

"Is there any man who hears me," cried Mr. Gladstone in 1870, "who does not feel that if, in order to satisfy a greedy appetite for aggrandizement (coming whence it may), Belgium were absorbed, the day that witnessed that absorption would hear the knell of public right and public law in Europe?" So quotes the London "Daily Chronicle," and adds:

On those words "public right" and "public law," and on the ideas behind them, depend (as the Prime Minister said the other day) all the possibilities of any sort of internationalism. Erase them, and there is no bond left between nations but the sword. They are not yet erased; but they have been mortally challenged. If the challenger triumphed, if the unoffending little country that had been struck down by a perjured blow were left to bleed away and perish in the dust, the consequences would be no whit less than those which Mr. Gladstone described.

English editors are sometimes more than fair to their own allies—that is to say, they hardly ever criticise any shortcomings in those allies. And yet there are occasions when "faithful are the wounds of a friend." Such an occasion is the present with regard to Russia, and the London "Nation" is one of the few papers boldly to advise Russia, in her own interest, to range herself more nearly on a par with her allies and to do a long-needed service to humanity and civilization. The "Nation" says:

The news that the Russian Government had formally promised legislation to remove Jewish disabilities would be worth more to the Russian cause at this moment than a crushing victory over the German armies. . . . For the behavior of any Christian people towards its Jews is among the most searching tests of its civilization. . . .

Finally, there is no such tendency in general towards a self-righteousness swagger as some might expect. When it bobs up now and then, it is apt to be hard hit. In this connection the "Church Times" pays its respects to a well-known and efficient

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young statesman. It admits that he has done his work well. But this makes the regret all the greater for some of the expressions in his recent speeches.

Insulting references to the German fleet are not needed. They are the more objectionable since the officers of that fleet have, with rare exceptions, shown a spirit which should shame their fellows of the land forces. The English Admiralty has once, at least, had occasion to acknowledge their courteous conduct of the war. . . .

It was deplorable to talk about "digging out the rats." And seldom or never was swagger more signally rebuked. Even as he spoke some of the skulking rats of his imagination were putting out to sea for an enterprise of conspicuous peril. On the day that his speech was reported we heard also the result of this high venture, mourning the loss of three fine ships and many priceless lives. Let us at least respect the courage of the men who could strike such a blow at our immense preponderance of force. As we brace ourselves for the stern prosecution of the struggle to a victorious end, let us be glad that some at least of our opponents are not unworthy of our steel, and that in Germany there is a nucleus of men whom in after years we may be proud to count as friends.

In such spirit the editors of England are inspiring the best men of England quietly, resolutely, to war.

English editors also feel for themselves and their readers that the times demand great expression—if possible, poetic expression. And so, as never before, they seem to be throwing open their columns to all who can rhyme—and to some who can not! For, as that satisfying sheet, the Manchester "Guardian," puts it, people's minds are forced to the height and heat of emotion at which the perfectly fit poem or the subject of their emotion would come to them with something of the power and charm of a great fulfillment or sudden release. And yet, as the "Guardian" adds, "the very heat that makes us thirsty makes the streams run dry."

Finally, as to what is going to happen after the war is over, English editorial opinion is summed up in this statement from the Liverpool "Post:"

In the negotiations following the war we shall be moved by a common impulse—the establishment of a Europe on the principle of nationality and with a tender regard for small nationalities; a Europe . . . free from the causes of hatred and unrest which have poisoned the comity of nations and ruptured the peace of Christendom.

English opinion is not always reflected by the English press. When not, it may be had by word of mouth. This was the case regarding the lesson to America from the present crisis. No British newspaper, so far as I know, reflected what I heard from one British statesman. He spoke as follows:

"Over-emphasis on nationalism is an evil. It is seen in America. You talk too much about Old Glory. You wave the flag too much. You are in general too much puffed up with your national self-importance and your self-sufficiency. And so, in particular, you think you must compete with the Powers of Europe in point of arms! You are not Germany, hemmed in on all sides; she has had to be armed to the teeth. You are independent. Your geographical location is your security. No one is going to attack you, not even the Japanese. You do not need, therefore, a large army and navy. You need only a few gunboats to protect your citizens in some South American country which may happen to be in the throes of revolution. You do not need a great navy even for police protection, and hence as a species of national insurance. You do not realize that you are living practically in a fireproof dwelling!"

Quite the contrary opinion is expressed by another English statesmen. He says: "The Germans are after us now. They will be after you next. We had a treaty with Germany. How much did it protect us? How much did it protect Belgium? Was it of the slightest use? Where would we be if we were not in a position to sweep the seas? Our navy has always made us great and always will, no matter how many gallant deeds our little army is doing. Be warned in time. Make your navy strong too. You, too, have thousands of miles of coast to defend. You, too, have now oversea possessions to defend. And you always have the Monroe Doctrine to defend. Make your army efficient too, not only in numbers but in ammunition. Have you enough guns? Who knows? But you *ought* to know. Be prepared."

Here are two counsels. They come from friends of America and from men eminent in the work of civilization. They simply show how doctors can disagree.

Whom shall we follow? For there is an evident lesson for us in this war. Let us heed it. Are we to be unready or ready for a possible foe? If ready, we are less likely to have the foe!

ELBERT F. BALDWIN.

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ARE THE GERMAN PEOPLE UNANIMOUSLY FOR THE WAR?

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

*In The Outlook for October 7 we published an article by an avowed Socialist under the title "The War and International Socialism," which was an endeavor to explain why most of the European Socialists, who have always been ardent opponents of war, have, temporarily at least, given up their internationalism and are patriotically supporting their national governments. In the following article we present the views of another well-known American Socialist, who endeavors to show that the international movement has not broken down, but that one of the definite results of the European war will be a promotion in Europe of Socialistic ideas and policies. In our judgment, there is no fundamental conflict between these two articles. The former writer was concerned in answering the question why a very large group of Socialists had become, at least for the moment, nationalists. The present writer is concerned with showing that there is still a minority, perhaps an influential minority, of Socialists in Germany who do not acquiesce in the national policy of the German Government in this war. The author, Mr. Walling, is an active member of the Socialist party and has written three of the most original contributions to Socialist thought by an American—"Socialism as It Is," "The Larger Aspects of Socialism," and "Progressivism and After."—*THE EDITORS.

"In this war social differences have disappeared; even the Social Democrats stand behind us."—*Von Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor of the German Empire.*

"It is one of the fundamental errors of American newspapers that this is a war of kings. Most emphatically it is a war of the German people. If any proof is needed for this statement, look at the attitude of the leaders of the German Social Democrats, who are loyally supporting the Emperor."—*Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States.*

IT is evident from these and many similar statements from the highest authorities that the German Government bases its case largely on the claim that the German people are unanimously behind it in this war.

Unfortunately, the German Government, which has failed to impress the public of the neutral countries with many of its arguments, has apparently succeeded in this instance. Hardly an important article, editorial, or opinion of the war fails to state or to assume that popular sentiment in Germany is, indeed, unanimous. Whatever doubts existed seem to have been entirely removed as it became generally known that on August 4, when the war was already going on in France, when Belgium was invaded, and the German people were aware of both these facts, the Social Democrats in the Reichstag allowed the Socialist vote to be cast solidly for the war loan of five billion marks and permitted a declaration which said that they regarded the war as a purely defensive struggle against Russian despotism.

But if we look into the events leading up to this action of the 4th of August; if we look closely into the councils of the party during the first days of the war; and, above all, if we take note of the position of the party organ, "Vorwaerts," since the war began, we shall see indications that the German people are by no means unitedly for the war, and that the four million Socialists are split badly on the question. While admitting the undeniable fact that the Socialist *majority* did give its financial and moral support to the Kaiser, we shall discover that there is already a very large minority against the war.

Let us go back one year. In 1913 a large increase in military expenditures and in the size of the army was demanded. It was at that time that the German Socialist majority first surrendered to militarism. Of the 110 Socialist members of the Reichstag in the 1913 session, 51 were in favor of granting money for the army increase and 37 were against it, the rest being absent from the caucus or abstaining from the vote. The Socialist party, however, binds its minorities by a unit rule, so that the Socialists cast their 110 votes, as they did this year, solidly for the Government proposal.

Last year the official arguments of the majority were: that, since the rich and well-to-do, for the first time, were to pay the larger part of the new taxes, they would soon

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begin to oppose armaments and war; that to vote against this new taxation for military purposes would have only a moral value, as the taxes would be passed anyway, in some form, in spite of Socialist opposition; that if the Socialists did not vote for new military taxes to be levied against the rich, the other parties would vote for new military taxes to be levied against the poor; and, above all, that the precedent of graduated taxation, an innovation for the Empire, could be used later to raise money from the upper classes for the purposes of social reform.

Against this reasoning the Socialist minority pointed out that the rich and well-to-do would rather pay the taxes than forego the armaments of which they got the chief advantage, and that if they felt the burden shifting too rapidly onto their shoulders they would seek a solution by hastening the war to which so many of them looked forward. They argued that every minority must first offer an opposition that gives moral rather than practical results before it can hope to become a majority. They showed how the Government itself—largely for militaristic reasons—favored throwing the latest military burden on the shoulders of those best able to carry it without injuring the nation's industry. And they concluded that not all the social reform in the world could justify surrender to the arch-enemy of democracy, militarism.

But these anti-military arguments had no weight with the majority. For their real motive was not disclosed until the Socialist Congress held several months after the vote in the Reichstag. A leading editorial of "Vorwaerts" pointed out that two of the most eminent leaders of the majority, Fischer and David, had publicly admitted that one of the majority's motives was the fear that if the Socialists did not vote the military taxes their representation in the Reichstag would be reduced from 110 to 40.

Here, then, is their whole case. Militarism is highly popular among many classes in Germany. If the Socialists opposed it, the sixty or seventy Socialist Reichstag members of the majority faction would lose their seats. Only the forty-odd members of the minority, representing the most industrialized districts, where live the working people (who now compose the majority of the population of Germany), could have been sure of being returned at a new election fought on the issue of militarism *versus* anti-militarism. For, because of Germany's unequal election districts, the rest of the Socialist members owe their election not to the anti-militarist laboring masses but to "progressive" votes given them for the most part at the second ballot. That is, they are dependent on the lower middle classes—small officials, clerks, and conservative artisans—who hold the political balance of power. These classes are either pro-militarist or very hesitant anti-militarists. By failing to satisfy such voters and losing their seats, the Socialist majority would at the same time lose, not only their careers (which may have influenced some of them), but also their power to advance those social and democratic reforms they have so much at heart (which doubtless influenced all). *In order to be in a position to win these reforms for the people of Germany, they were ready to support the Kaiser in his preparations for a possible war against the people of other countries.* That this was their position in 1913 will be clear to any one who takes the trouble to consult the proceedings of last year's Party Congress. That it is their position this year, in supporting the war itself, is evident from the statements of Scheidemann, Suedekum, and other leaders printed in the American Socialist press.

The division within the party is nearly the same now as it was last year. Karl Liebknecht, the leader of the minority, assures us that the meeting of the Socialist caucus on the 3d of August witnessed a discussion "of a violence hitherto unknown" in the party's history; and he and sixteen other Socialist members of the Reichstag (a large number being absent) stood out to the end against the war. These are the members from the most populous election districts, and they are in the closest touch with their constituents. The representatives of at least a million German voters, then, stand as opponents to the war. There may be militarist minorities in their districts, but we can be sure that there are at least as great anti-militarist minorities in other constituencies.

"Vorwaerts" has always represented the main current of Socialist opinion, and it is highly probable that it represents the main current of Socialist opinion now—or certainly that of a very large faction. During the whole of the past year it has been conducting the liveliest kind of an anti-militarist agitation, which has frequently figured in cable despatches. In fact, this was its chief work for many months before the war. It was "Vorwaerts," for example, that published the Krupp scandal, as well as Karl Lieb-

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knecht's second revelation concerning the wholesale selling of titles. And in the weeks immediately preceding the war it was filled with the agitation of Rosa Luxemburg and others against the army. After the notorious Zabern affair she had said that cruelties committed by officers were an every-day affair in the barracks. The Government proceeded to prosecute her, and the Socialists responded by securing thirty-two thousand certified cases of recent acts of cruelty and over a thousand witnesses. "Vorwaerts" was still leading this campaign with the greatest bitterness in the middle of July.

As the war approached, about July 25, this anti-military agitation became even more intense, and finally turned into an anti-war demonstration of the first magnitude. Influenced, no doubt, by the radicalism of the Socialists of Greater Berlin, who furnish most of its readers, "Vorwaerts" took an especially fearless stand. Day after day it warned the Government, in thinly veiled terms, that a declaration of war might lead to defeat and to revolution. It put the chief blame for the impending war on Austria, and declared that the German Government knew that to support Austria's outrageous demands against Servia meant war. Even Russian mobilization, it showed, was a natural and unavoidable result of Austria's actions. As late as July 31 "Vorwaerts" declared that the French Government sincerely desired peace and that the Russian Government, "in spite of its mobilization," was ready for far-reaching concessions.

On July 29 the Socialists held gigantic war demonstrations throughout Germany. At one single meeting of the twenty-eight called by Berlin Socialists on this day, seventy thousand persons were present. In Berlin, Cologne, and elsewhere riots occurred, and it is claimed that the anti-militarists usually got the best of the "patriotic" mobs, except where the latter were aided by the police. In the Kingdom of Wurtemburg the Socialist party of that country, which was holding a Congress at the time, adopted a revolutionary resolution, proposed by Clara Zetkin, which clearly suggested a general strike.

Even since the declaration of war, under the very eyes of the military censor, and in the presence of the terrors of martial law, "Vorwaerts" has cleverly managed to continue its anti-military agitation. Frequent cables have shown the general recognition of the value of its work, and its anti-war trend has been widely recognized. On Monday, August 3, when the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag decided to vote in favor of the war budget, "Vorwaerts" printed an article condemning German "patriotism" and the "patriots" who had suddenly become warriors fighting for "freedom against Czarism."

The article, which is entitled "War against Czarism," exposes the fallacy of this so-called "Russian peril."

"Russia to-day is no longer a stronghold of reaction, but a land of revolution. The overthrow of the monarchy and of Czarism is now the aim of the Russian people in general, and of the Russian workers in particular."

The article points out that shortly before war was declared Russia was in the midst of a revolutionary blaze that was sweeping the country. This menacing general strike had spread until stopped by the declaration of war. The Czarism had been strengthened, then, not weakened, by the declaration of war.

When Germany entered Belgium, "Vorwaerts" said, significantly: "Now when the war god reigns supreme, not only over the time but also over the press, we cannot say concerning the invasion of Belgium what we would like to say about it." On August 30 it had the courage to declare that the Belgian peasants ought not to be "punished," as they had been, for defending their homes without uniforms, since the German *Landsturm* was explicitly permitted to do the same thing according to the very words of the Prussian law. The real purpose of this editorial, as of many others, was to call the attention of the German soldiers to the fact that they were fighting a war of aggression. In Germany it raised a storm.

When it became a well-established fact that Italy had decided to break with the Triple Alliance, every "patriotic" German cried out against Germany's former ally. But "Vorwaerts," instead of condemning Italy, spoke enthusiastically in favor of its maintaining the position of neutrality.

When the Socialist leaders Guesde and Sembat, with the unanimous approval of their party, became members of the French Cabinet, "Vorwaerts" pointed out that this proved that the French proletariat regarded it as a people's war, and that Germany would be able to conquer only by conquering the French proletariat.

Guesde and Sembat, we are told, not only

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did rightly to enter the Cabinet, but are the finest types of Socialists. Guesde is described as "the old fighting companion of Marx and Engels, the founder and organizer of the Marxian tendency in France, the most uncompromising partisan of the idea of class struggle, the sworn enemy of every kind of opportunism." As to Sembat, "Vorwaerts" cites his speech of the 2d of August, in which he defined the present war waged by France as one which was aimed neither at conquests nor at the destruction of German culture. This leads "Vorwaerts" to remark:

> The French nation is defending its existence, its unity, and its independence.
>
> Our comrades did not refuse the grave responsibility of this momentous hour. They felt that the independence and security of the nation are the first conditions of its political and social emancipation, and they did not think it was possible for them to refuse their aid to that country in its struggle for life.

Could this be plainer? German territory and culture are not even attacked, but France is struggling for existence. No wonder the "Vorwaerts" office was mobbed by "patriots" shortly after the printing of this editorial!

Surely this approval of the attitude of the French, Belgian, and Italian working people justified the indignation of the German anti-Socialist press, which rightly pointed out that such talk was no way to insure success in the war. But "Vorwaerts" ignored the attacks of its militarist enemies—which twice led to its suspension—and for two solid months continued to use every weapon in its journalistic arsenal against the supporters of the war.

Another editorial that must have infuriated the militarists was that of August 25, in which, ably avoiding every possible deadlock with the military authorities, the Socialist organ yet succeeded in pointing out that the supposed justification of the war, that it was a war of defense against Russia, had fallen away and that it had become a war of aggression.

If, after a series of defeats, the position of "Vorwaerts" becomes the position of the Socialists generally, and so of a large part of the German nation, the importance of this declaration cannot be overstated. Here are the two leading paragraphs:

> When the war broke out, the word went round, "War against Czarism!" That was the cry that made the war seem inevitable even to those who were against it. . . . To military experts it appeared an unavoidable necessity that France must be first overcome, in order to advance with Austria against Russia. And to this necessity even those who mourn the frightful fate which drives two civilized peoples into this murderous struggle must resign themselves. . . . From the *military* point of view the first necessity is to overcome France. On the other hand, *politically*, the most urgent necessity is the overthrow and destruction of "Czarism." . . .
>
> If we should not succeed in overcoming "Czarism," if the strategic necessity should push the political necessity into the background, then, whatever the intentions of the rulers, the final result might lead to a return of the "Holy Alliance," in which "Czarism" would once more hold the dominating influence, instead of a union of the civilized nations. . . . Then this war *would lose its justification*. [My italics.]

In other words, there is no moral justification for a war with France, and the Kaiser may soon find himself in another "holy" alliance with the Czar. This would scarcely surprise the readers of the Socialist press. For until the outbreak of the war the two monarchs, as their published correspondence shows, were on the terms of the greatest friendship, and German Socialist critics of the Czar were under prosecution this very year, precisely as if they had committed *lèse majesté* against the Kaiser himself. Socialists have been reminded of all this since the war.

A special full-page article of September 26, two days before the second suspension, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the "International." In the course of the discussion of the main subject it recalls the fact that Bebel and Liebknecht had opposed the Franco-Prussian war to the very end, and it knows that these two names still carry more weight with the German masses than those of the Socialist leaders who are now with the Kaiser. Next, it reminds the reader that the French and Belgian Socialists have organized "an armed resistance against the invading enemies of their countries"—and the German reader knows that every Socialist discussion has reached the conclusion that the progress of Socialism requires that every invasion should be repelled. And, finally, it concludes that the "Social Democrats of the rest of the world"—*i. e.*, all those outside of Germany and Austria—see the war, before all else, as "the invasion of neutral Belgium and republican France." And "Vorwaerts," by an eloquent silence, indorses this opinion.

But it was only on the next day, September 27, that "Vorwaerts" reached the climax of its audacity.

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The article that led to the second suspension of the paper began by referring to Germany's efforts "to make the truth known abroad," and to the fact that these efforts have not succeeded:

> The extent of these efforts show how difficult it is to create confidence in the German reports. . . .
>
> It is necessary to go back to times of peace to find the explanation. For a long time a great measure of mistrust, suspicion, and antagonism to Germany has been heaping up abroad—even in the neutral countries—and we now see the effects of this.

In part, says "Vorwaerts," this was due to Germany's sudden rise in the economic world and to fear and suspicion on the part of the great capitalists.

> But the jingoes abroad would hardly have had such success with their propaganda if another factor had not been present.
>
> That land, which developed so mightily, was at the same time that land which made its workmen a present of an anti-Socialist law, and which also, after the repeal of this law, instituted a police government of chicanery and allowed the equality of all citizens to exist only on the paper of the Prussian Constitution. . . .
>
> *Thus Germany appeared to the rest of the world, and even to the working classes, in the light of a Power whose rule meant militarism and political oppression.* It was this that made it possible for that distrust and bitterness to arise which so greatly aided our bellicose opponents in the ruling classes, and which makes it possible for us to gain the sympathy of neutral countries only with the greatest effort.
>
> This explains why regrettable pronouncements have come even from the laboring classes in these lands. These are regrettable above all because *they try to fasten upon the German folk as a whole the responsibility for the acts of a single class.* . . .
>
> The comrades abroad can be assured that the German working class disapproves to-day every piratical policy of state, just as it has always disapproved it, and that *it is disposed to resist the predatory subjugation of foreign peoples as strongly as the circumstances permit.*
>
> The comrades in foreign lands can be assured that, though the German workmen also are protecting their fatherland, they will nevertheless not forget that their interests are the same as those of proletariat in other countries, who, *like themselves, have been compelled to go to war against their will; indeed, even against their often repeated pronouncements in favor of peace.* [My italics.]

Here we have the assurance of "Vorwaerts" that, in spite of the vote of the majority of the Socialist Reichstag members and the statements of such leaders as Scheidemann and Suedekum, the Socialists in the firing line are there against their will.

The reader must not get the impression that I have tried to give a complete idea of the work of "Vorwaerts" against the Government and the military faction that now controls it. Hardly a day has passed when the cables have failed to mention one or another of its bold strokes, and a reference to the paper itself shows that it has neglected no opportunity. Repeatedly it has exposed the "lies" of the militarists. So-called "atrocities" against the German troops are shown to be either absurd in themselves, or crafty inventions, or grossly exaggerated. German prisoners are *not* being mistreated in any of the foreign countries. In a word, the whole press campaign of the militarists is repudiated point by point. Always, of course, the point is emphasized that the people of the foreign countries are not hostile to the people of Germany. Not only does "Vorwaerts" reject the militarist case in detail, but it also rejects it as a whole—just as it did before the war. The fact that all of Germany's leading litterateurs and scientists have defended the war merely supplies a subject of ridicule; one of the poets, formerly a democrat, is described as writing one patriotic poem every day and three on Sunday, which, we are reminded, makes nine a week. And when Maeterlinck and d'Annunzio are boycotted because they have turned anti-German, "Vorwaerts" ironically points out that the discovery has suddenly been made that they have no literary merit.

Yet for the first time since 1894 Socialist literature, including "Vorwaerts," has been admitted into the barracks, and on September 2 special arrangements were made by which it could even be sent into the camps on the firing line. So that the agitation I have described has not only reached the German people generally, but has been spread throughout the armies—probably the most momentous piece of propaganda ever accomplished by any agitation in all history. Evidently the reactionary Government made these extraordinary concessions from two motives. It recognized the military necessity of securing the enthusiastic loyalty of the millions of Socialists who compose a third of the German armies, and it assumed that the conservative Socialists, who had secured control of the Reichstag group on August 4, and those

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leaders who had been brought into the Government camp by the machinations of Bethmann-Hollweg at the secret conference of the previous day, represented the German Socialist movement as a whole. It forgot that the Reichstag members are often governed by political considerations which do not influence the Socialist masses; that the latter have put the control of the party, not into the hands of this group, but in an executive committee composed of a small number of its oldest and most trusted servants, including several revolutionists; and that "Vorwaerts" depends for its daily income upon the approval of the Socialist masses, especially those of Greater Berlin and central Germany. Instead of a tamed and loyal Socialism which it expected, "military necessity," then, has caused to circulate throughout the army literary material which, under the present circumstances, is of the most inflammatory character. For the Socialists, including a great proportion of revolutionists, are already there. All that was necessary was to remind them that all the vast anti-military and anti-monarchical agitation of recent years still holds good under present conditions, and to bring this agitation down to date.

Nor should the daily press, a part of it still more anti-military than "Vorwaerts," alone be mentioned. Now that Bebel is dead, the voice that represents the largest number of German Socialists is that of Karl Kautsky, who is generally acknowledged as the world's leading Marxist. As editor of the party's intellectual organ, "Die Neue Zeit," his influence in a country as devoted as Germany to intellectual authority is scarcely less than that of "Vorwaerts." Kautsky is a revolutionist, and in nearly every number manages to get by the censor with statements which none of his Socialist readers can fail to understand. For example, when he compares existing armies to the people's army of the French Revolution, it is scarcely necessary for him to go further and remind readers who have been thoroughly informed on this particular period that this revolutionary army overthrew monarch, aristocracy, and ruling classes generally. Yet, to make sure, he goes on to explain (in the number of September 25) that in the wars of the French Revolution "all respect for private property was cast aside, and all property was regarded as the property of the nation," adding that the present war may accomplish a great deal in this direction.

In the same article Kautsky speaks at length of the probability of a revolution in Russia, closing by a comparison with Germany and Austria which will suggest to every German reader that in reality he refers to these countries quite as much as to Russia:

> The war cannot be waged for any long period without concessions by the Czar, the granting of greater liberties, which perhaps are not meant very seriously, but which cannot be taken back after the war, unless glorious and brilliant victories occur, which certainly does not seem likely now.
>
> We must reckon with the possibility that a Russia will proceed from the war which, even if it is not a republic but only a constitutional monarchy, *will yet have greater liberties than its present enemies.* Along with America, Russia will be the chief gainer by the war. It only needs freedom in order to utilize its great natural resources and its enormous home market of 160 million inhabitants for a rapid economic development, provided, of course, that it is not hampered by increased armaments.
>
> *Germany and Austria could not long avoid the effects of these changes.* [My italics.]

This must be read in connection with the commonplace among German Socialists already referred to, that a great European war which did not lead to victory is the most promising of all possible situations for a revolution and the establishment of a democratic republic. "Vorwaerts," too, is looking forward to German defeats, and is making the people ready for them by insisting with the most significant emphasis that unfavorable news must not be suppressed.

In the month of June, this year, at the last act of the last session of the Reichstag, fifty of the Socialist members proved their republicanism by forcing the whole Socialist group to remain seated and silent when the President called for standing cheers for the Kaiser. We may be certain that in the end the section of the party represented by "Vorwaerts" and these members of the Reichstag, in large part at least, will remain true to the republican and anti-militarist principles of the international Socialist movement. And we have every reason to hope that this army of half a million, enlarged to millions in the terrible hour of disillusionment and disaster that is drawing near, and taking advantage of the disorganization at the close of the war, may be able to overturn the military oligarchy that rules Germany, and set up in its place that democratic form of government which is the sole guarantee of international peace.

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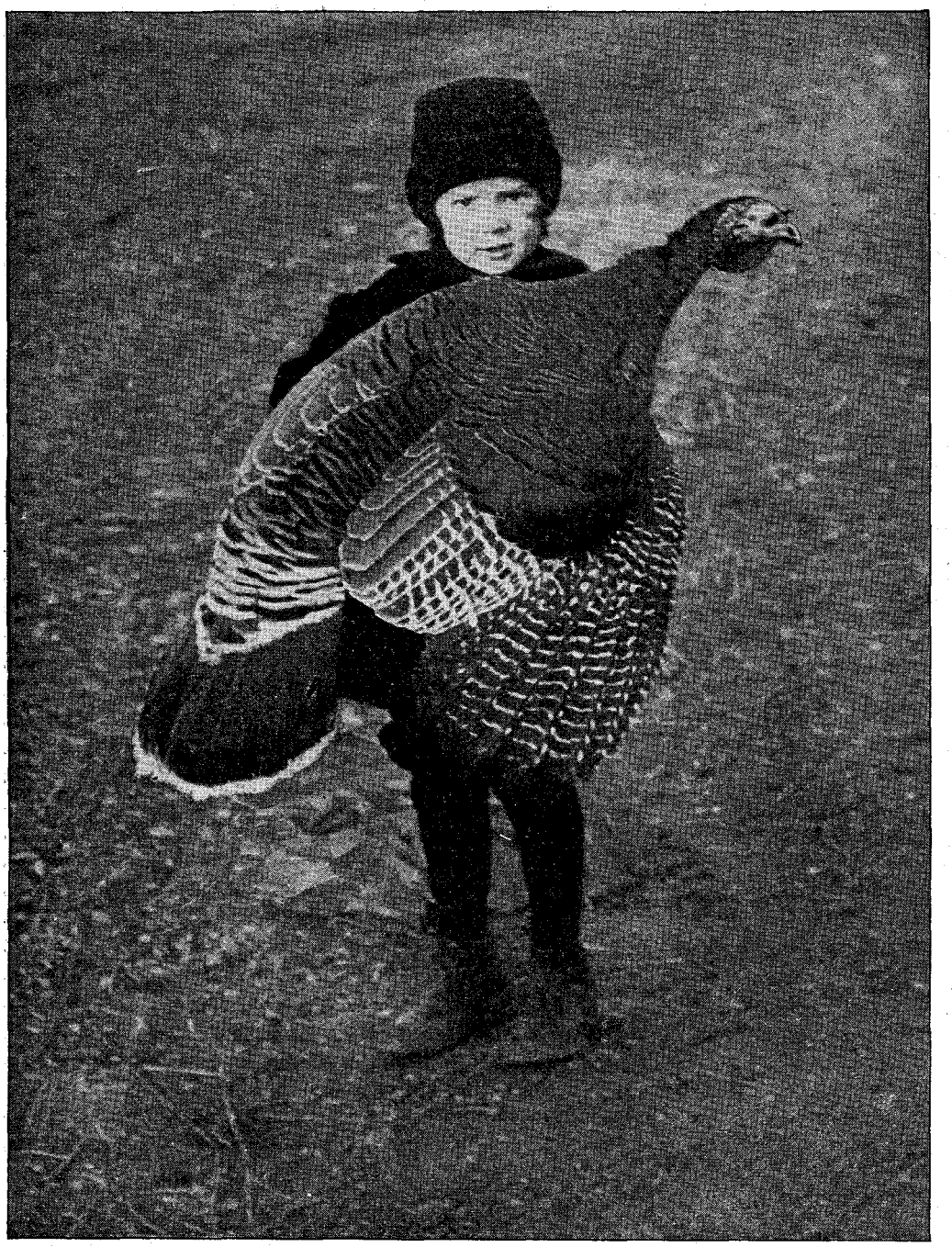
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN KABEL

THE KING OF BIRDS—ON THANKSGIVING DAY

Our National bird, the Eagle, must at least on one day of the year yield his place to his humble relative the Turkey. The latter is indeed the more distinctively American bird, having been domesticated by the Indians before the discovery of America, though not introduced into Europe till the sixteenth century

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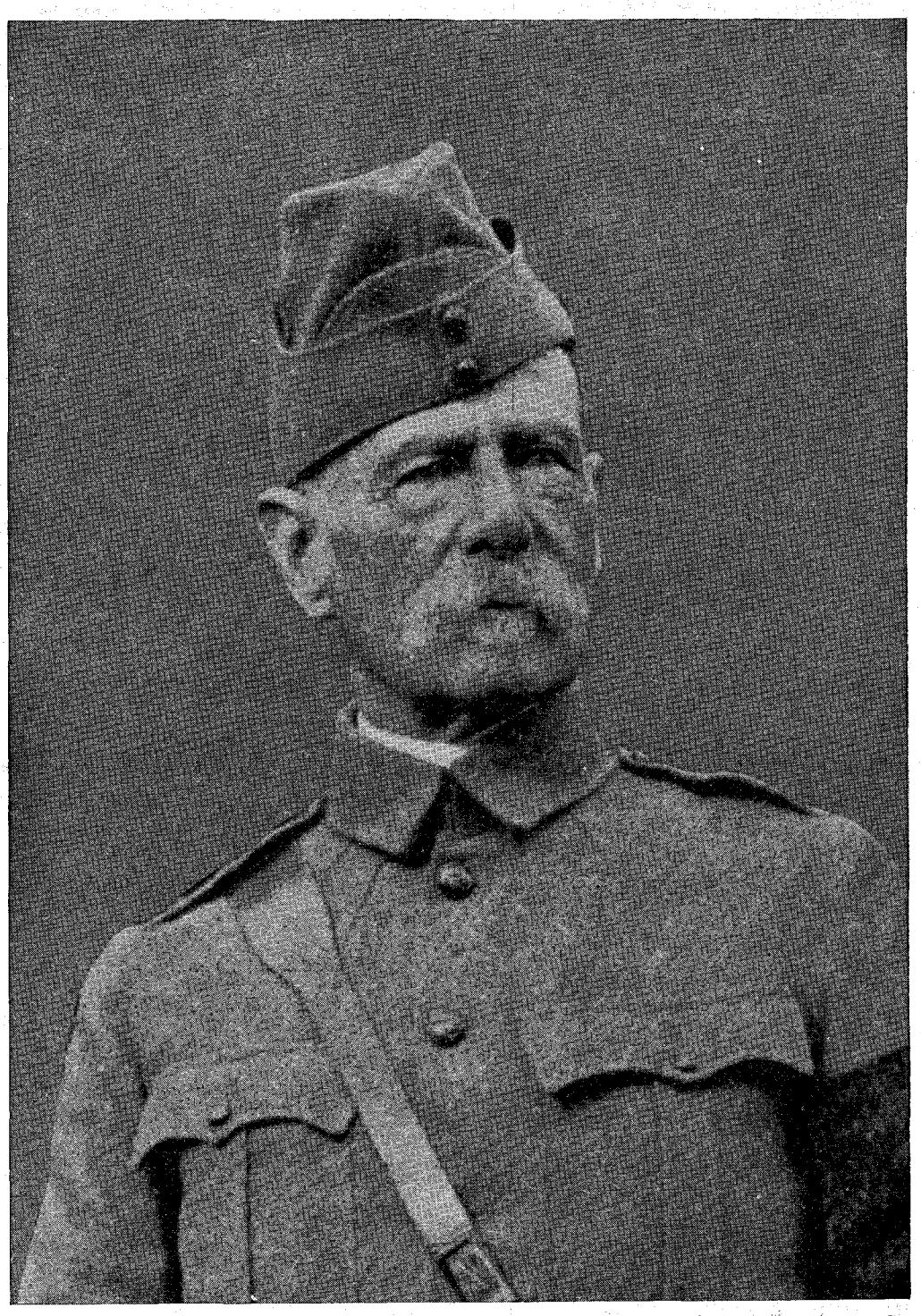

GREAT BRITAIN LOSES HER MOST FAMOUS SOLDIER, LORD ROBERTS

While on a tour of inspection of the British forces in France, Lord Roberts was attacked by pneumonia and succumbed after a brief illness. He had spent his long life in the service of his country; his greatest fame was attained in India, where he was affectionately known as "Bobs," a nickname which later came into universal use. See editorial pages for a review of Lord Roberts's career

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THE FUNERAL IN LONDON OF GENERAL SIR CHARLES DOUGLAS

The honor roll of those who have died in battle in the war contains few more prominent names than that of General Sir Charles Douglas, Inspector-General of the British Forces. A great multitude assembled to pay their last respects to this distinguished soldier. General Ian Hamilton (at the left) is seen following the charger of the deceased General, whose body rested on a gun carriage preceding the riderless war-horse

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WHERE HOSTILITIES CEASE AND HUMANITY REIGNS

The photograph illustrates the visit of a French military surgeon, a prisoner of war, to the Reserve Hospital in Berlin, escorted by the chief German physician of the hospital

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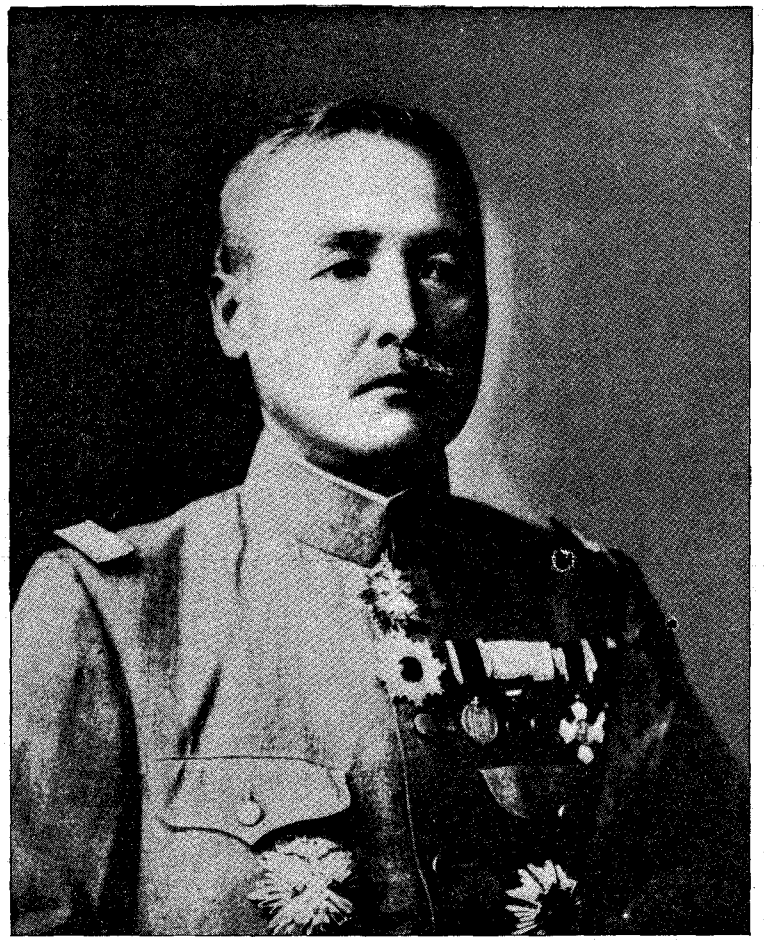

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

GENERAL KAMIO

Commander of the Japanese forces at the siege of Tsingtao, which ended in the surrender of the German garrison

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CAPTAIN KARL VON MULLER

Commander of the cruiser Emden, which destroyed more than a score of British vessels before she was sunk by the Sydney at Cocos Island

TWO NOTABLE FIGURES OF THE WAR

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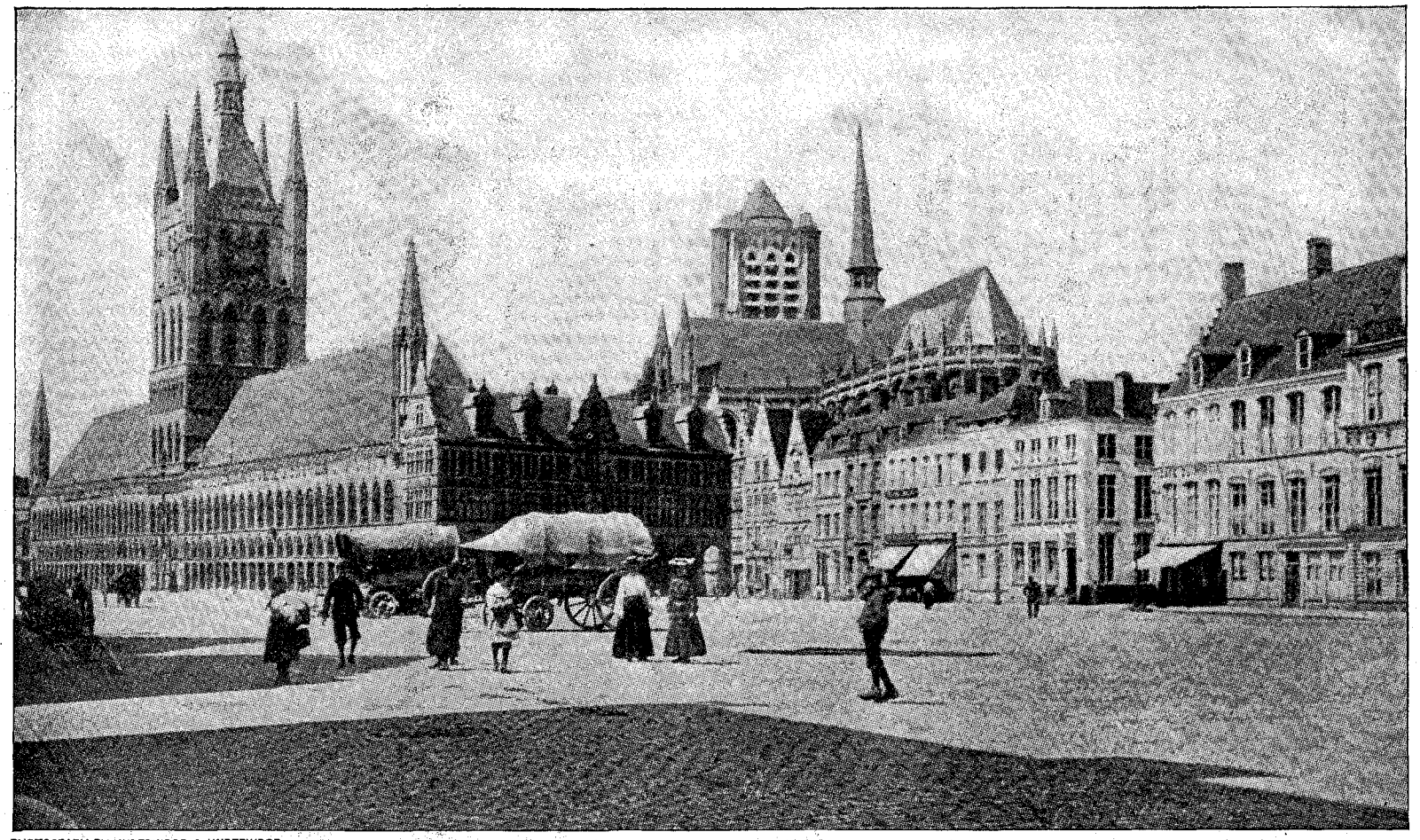

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

YPRES, THE CENTER OF A STUBBORNLY CONTESTED SERIES OF BATTLES

The picture gives an idea of the beauty of this old Flemish town before the battle was fought. Much of the place is now reported to be in ruins. Ypres was formerly a city of considerable importance, having had, it is estimated, a population of nearly 200,000 in the thirteenth century, when it was the center of the cloth-making industry. The photograph shows the square in front of the Cloth Hall, which was begun in 1200 by Count Baldwin of Flanders, afterward Emperor of Constantinople

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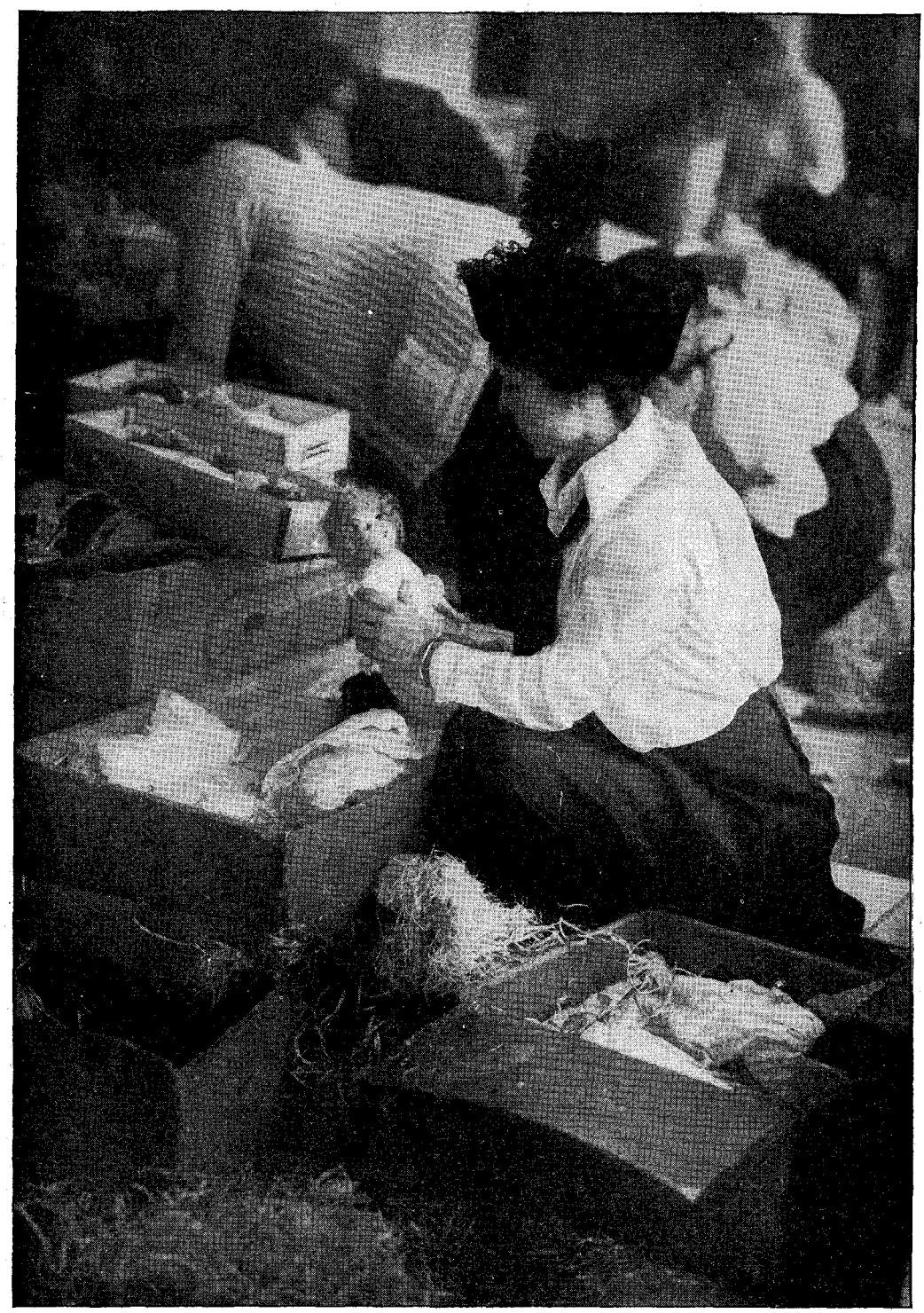

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CHRISTMAS GIFTS FOR CHILDREN OF THE COUNTRIES STRICKEN BY WAR

The United States steamer Jason has sailed for England, loaded down with gifts for children to whom Christmas would otherwise bring no joy. The presents are destined for children in almost all of the countries affected by the war, irrespective of nationality

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GENERAL EULALIO GUTIERREZ
Chosen Provisional President of Mexico at Aguas Calientes but rejected by the Carranza faction

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

VICTOR ZUPELLI
The new Italian Minister of War

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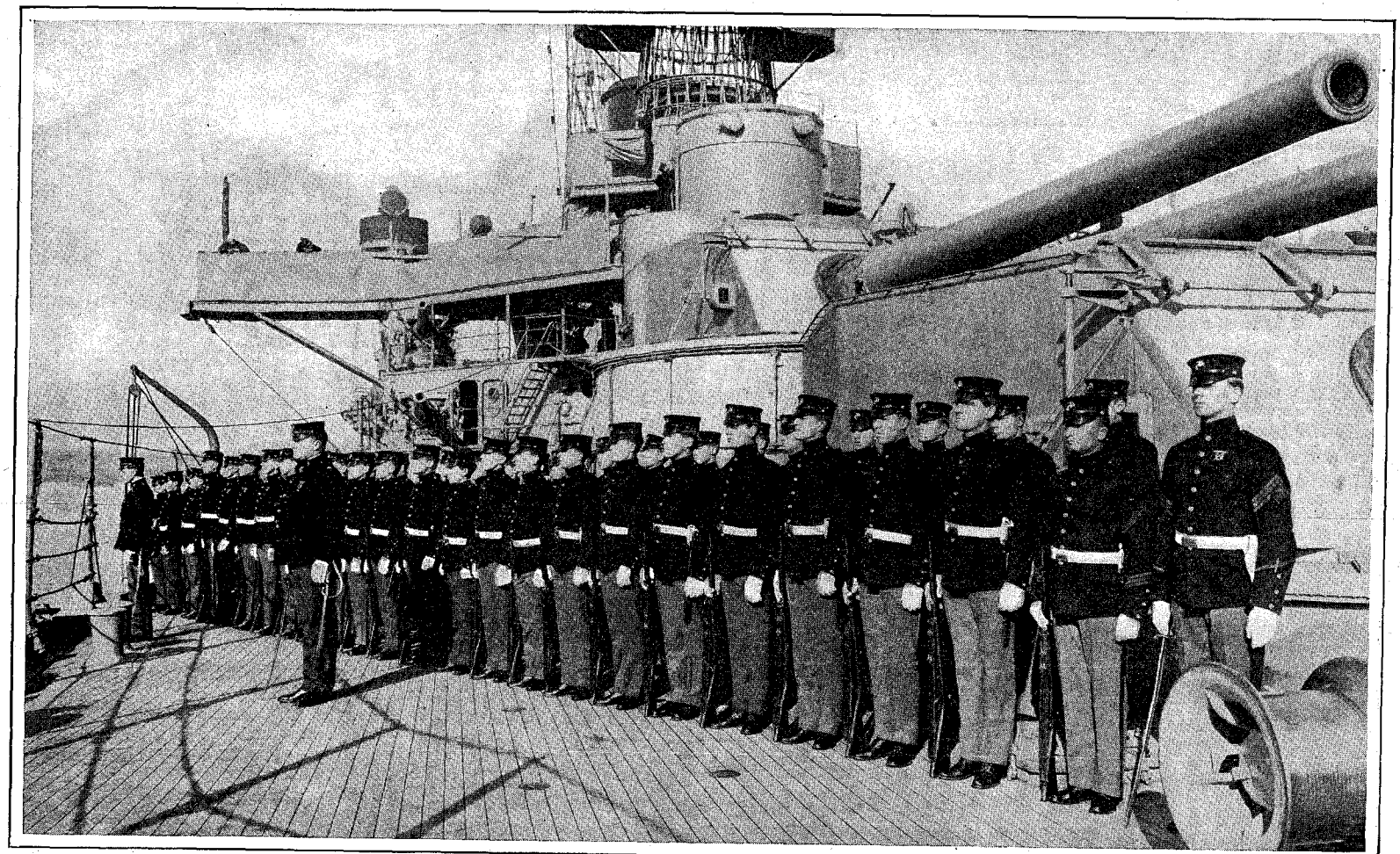

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MARINES STANDING AT ATTENTION ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES SHIP ARKANSAS

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THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM E. PARKER

UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

"An' after I met 'im all over the world, a-doin' all kinds of things
Like landin' 'isself with a Gatlin' gun to talk to them 'eathen kings;
'E sleeps in an 'ammick instead of a cot, an' 'e drills with the deck on a slew;
There isn't a job on the top of the earth the beggar don't know nor do.
You can leave 'im at night on a bald man's 'ead, to paddle 'is own canoe;
'E's a sort of a bloomin' cosmopolouse—soldier and sailor too." —*Rudyard Kipling.*

IT is probably true that the majority of our citizens know so little of our naval and military establishments that they fail to discriminate between the United States marine and the United States bluejacket or sailor. This is in part due to the fact that the Marine Corps is comparatively a small corps, and in part to the fact that its operations are so intimately associated with those of the navy as a whole that they often pass without special emphasis in press despatches, just as reports of army operations often omit detailed accounts of the parts played by its various arms.

But while the Marine Corps is a co-ordinate branch of the naval service, it is none the less a separate and distinct organization, with its own officers, both line and staff.

Although the marine is essentially an infantryman, the attribute which especially distinguishes him is the fact that he is amphibious—equally at home on land or sea; he has been called the "web-footed soldier." And this employment of infantry as a part of the regular complement of war-vessels may be traced back to remote antiquity.

The distinction between the sailor and the marine appears to date from about 500 B.C., when, with the progress of naval science and the increase in size and difficulty of management of biremes and triremes, it became expedient to enlist for naval service two distinct classes of men—the rowers, or seamen proper, who had the management of the vessel and sails, and the marines or fighting men.

In 1664 the corps of British marines was organized, and in 1740 three regiments which were raised in America were assembled in New York under the command of Colonel Spotiswood, of Virginia, for service in the colonies. This organization was the prototype of our present Marine Corps, which is the oldest branch of our naval establishment; for, having, on the 8th of June, 1775, voted to dissolve the compact between the people of Massachusetts Bay and the Crown, the Continental Congress, on November 10, 1775, "Resolved, that two Battalions of Marines be raised consisting of one Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors and other officers as usual in other regiments; that they consist of an equal number of privates with other battalions; that particular care be taken that no persons be appointed to offices or be enlisted into said battalions, but such as are good seamen or so acquainted with maritime affairs as to be able to serve by sea when required; that they be enlisted and commissioned to serve for and during the present war with Great Britain and the colonies, unless dismissed by order of Congress; that they be distinguished by the names of First and Second Battalions of American Marines."

On December 13, 1776, Congress directed that thirteen ships of war be built, and on the 22d day of the same month passed a resolution declaring Esek Hopkins Commander-in-Chief, and appointed officers for all vessels in the service.

This was the first step taken toward the creation of the navy which has won imperishable glory for the United States, and these are the facts upon which is based the claim of the Marine Corps that it is the "oldest in the service."

In February, 1777, a battalion of three hundred marines under the command of Major Nichols was landed from Commodore Hopkins's fleet on the island of New Providence in the Bahamas, assaulted and captured the English forts and took a large quantity of cannon and military stores. This, the first battle of the American navy, was won by the marines.

From this small beginning the Marine Corps has grown to its present strength of over ten thousand officers and men, and it has in all our wars, foreign and civil, maintained the prestige of its Grecian, Roman, and British predecessors for valor, loyalty, and discipline.

The rather common, though false, idea that

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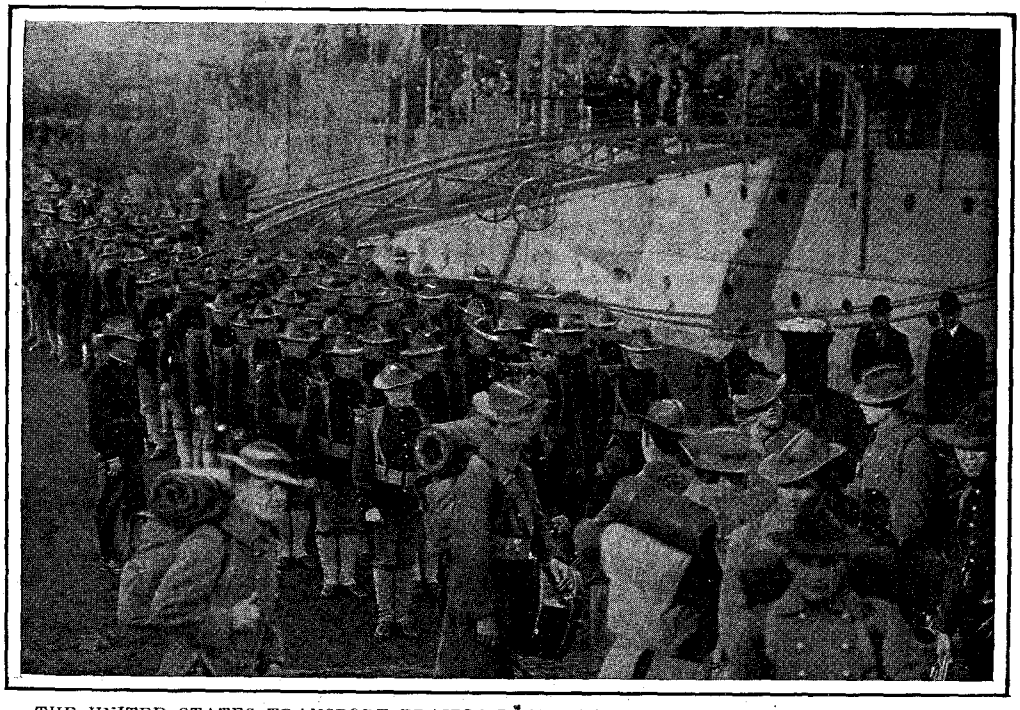
our sailors aboard ship are in some way subordinated to the marines is due to two facts: first, because the latter do the sentry duty, enforce police regulations, and thus exercise a certain authority aboard ship over marines and seamen alike; and, second, because of certain historical facts connected with the conduct of marines on the occasions of several serious mutinies in the British navy. In the days of "wooden ships and iron men" the sailors had many grievances, which were doubtless largely shared by the marines, but such was the *esprit de corps* and discipline of the latter that in nearly every instance they remained loyal to their officers and aided them in suppressing the mutiny.

Happily for us, our seamen have never been driven to mutiny, nor has there ever existed a condition of serious antagonism between them and the marines, though the latter have ever jealously regarded their historic traditions as a military body *par excellence* as distinct from the seaman branch of the service. As evidence of the spirit of mutual co-operation which exists between our sailors and marines of the present day, the Secretary of the Navy, in his last annual report, referring to the active preparations in Nicaragua in 1912, said: "A most commendable feature during the campaign was the perfect harmony and comradeship which existed between the enlisted men [sailors] and marines. They worked together in perfect accord under trying hardships, and showed a spirit of eagerness and readiness to face the dangers before them."

Throughout the Revolutionary War the marines were in the front rank of our country's defenders, and were zealous participants, on land and sea, in practically every expedition or action in which our naval forces were engaged.

The army, the navy, and consequently the Marine Corps, were all disbanded at the end of the Revolution, leaving nothing behind save the records of their suffering and glorious deeds; but on April 30, 1798, the Navy Department was formally created, and on July 11, 1798, the Marine Corps was again established.

During the war with Tripoli, in 1803, the Marine Corps figured prominently in a remarkable march of nearly six hundred miles across the desert from Alexandria to Derna, where, upon their arrival, they stormed and captured the native fortifications, hauled down the Tripolitan flag, and, for the first time in our history, hoisted the American flag over a fortress of the Old World. Thereafter the word "Tripoli" was inscribed on the banners of the Corps.



THE UNITED STATES TRANSPORT PRAIRIE READY TO SAIL WITH MARINES FOR MEXICO

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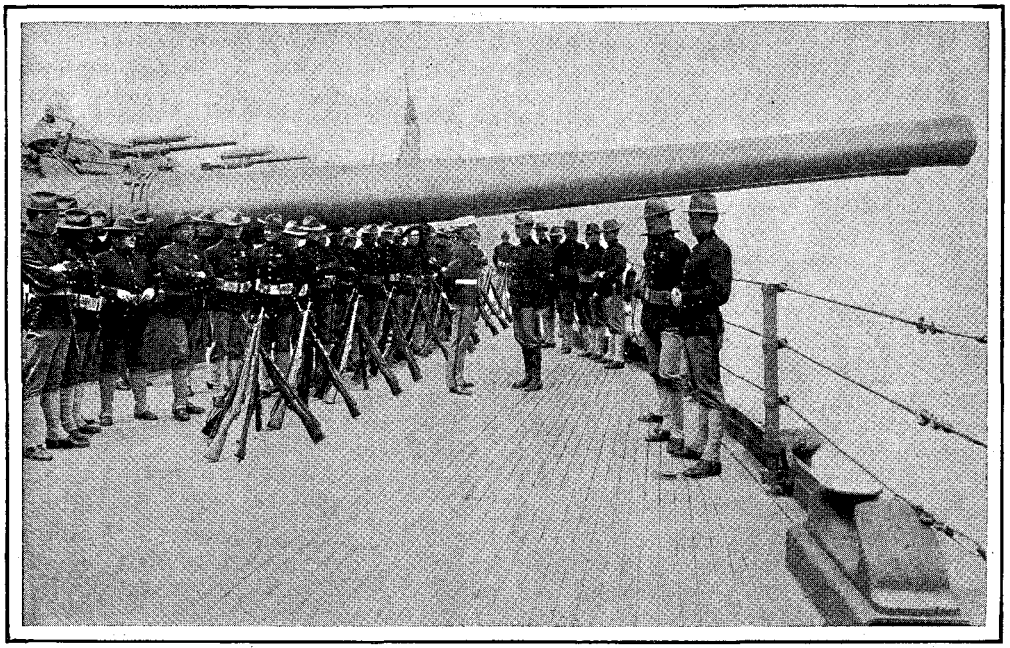

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A COMPANY OF MARINES WAITING FOR SMALL BOATS TO TAKE THEM ASHORE

During the War of 1812, in the glorious victory of the Constitution over the Guerrière, the first officer killed was Lieutenant Bush, commander of the Marine Guard; and in all the naval battles of that war the Marine Corps rendered distinguished service.

While marines have generally served in conjunction with purely naval forces, they have on many occasions been attached to the army for work ashore, for the time being having no occasion for exercising their distinctively maritime characteristics. Thus during the war with Mexico several detachments of marines served under the command of General Scott and General Taylor. The battalion assigned to General Quitman's division was among the first troops who triumphantly entered the City of Mexico and unfurled the Stars and Stripes over the Palace; this completes the explanation of the inscription since found on the banners of the Corps, "From the shores of Tripoli to the halls of the Montezumas."

These identical Mexican heroes were in 1853 seen marching through the streets of Yeddo, Japan, as the military escort of Commodore Perry on his celebrated expedition which opened the Land of the Rising Sun to the commerce of the world.

We next see marines in 1858 engaged in a fierce conflict with natives of the Fiji Islands, and in Paraguay protecting the lives and property of foreign residents from mob violence. The next year, 1859, they distinguished themselves at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, where, under the orders of Colonel Robert E. Lee, then an officer of the United States army, they captured John Brown and quelled the insurrection of which he was the leader.

During the Civil War marines had their share of service ashore and afloat, from the first Battle of Bull Run, in which a full battalion participated and lost forty-four killed and wounded, to the capture of Captain Semmes, of the Confederate cruiser Alabama, in 1865; but, generally speaking, they won their laurels in those operations and engagements which were essentially naval in their character.

Marines were employed in fighting savages in Formosa in 1867 and 1870; leading the advance against the natives of Korea in 1870; landing in Alexandria, Egypt, to preserve order and prevent pillage in 1882; in Panama to keep transportation open across the Isthmus in 1885; in Valparaiso to protect the American Consulate, and in the Bering Sea to suppress seal poaching in 1891; in Honolulu during the Hawaiian revolution of 1893 to protect American interests; and to protect American lives in

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Korea and China, where they were sent in 1894, and again in 1897.

In the Spanish-American War a small detachment of marines successfully held Guantanamo Bay as a naval base against an overwhelming force of the Spanish army, and in the naval engagements at Manila and Santiago they distinguished themselves by their display of marksmanship at the secondary batteries, which, in fact, inflicted more damage to the Spanish ships than did the great guns.

During the Boxer uprising of 1900 in China marines rendered conspicuous service at the siege and capture of Tientsin and the march of the allied forces to the relief of the besieged Legations at Peking, while the conduct of the Legation guard of marines during the many weeks when all reliable communication with the outside world was cut off added one of the brightest pages to the recent history of our navy.

There is probably no incident in the annals of the Corps which for novelty is more striking than the diplomatic mission on which, in 1903, a representative of our Department of State was sent for a conference with King Menelik. What could be more incongruous than the spectacle presented by our representative's military escort, a company of "seagoing" marines mounted (as were also their stores) on camels, and navigating the uncharted wastes of the Abyssinian Desert?

The same year marines were again sent to protect the American Legation at Seoul, Korea, and in 1906 to Panama to supervise what promised to be a turbulent election.

Throughout the second military occupation of Cuba a regiment of marines served for over two years as an integral part of the Army of Cuban Pacification. Detachments of marines had, however, been landed from our war-ships at the outbreak of the revolution in September, 1906, and had completed the disarmament of the insurrectos before the army was called upon to guarantee the permanent tranquillity of the island, and to establish an effective and stable civil government.

In 1908 marines were once more sent to Panama to police the polls during a riotous election which seriously threatened the overthrow of that country; in 1909 and 1910 to Nicaragua to guard threatened American property; in 1910, during the revolution which marked the advent of China into the growing family of republics, marines were sent to augment our forces already at the Imperial city; and again in 1912 the marines were called upon to occupy Nicaragua and quell a serious revolution, the most notable event of which was the assault and capture of the hitherto impregnable rebel position known as Coyotepe Hill. In this, the final action of a three months' active campaign, four marines were killed and many wounded.

This brief summary of the deeds of the Marine Corps is here given to explain why the globe, which is its "theater of operations," forms a part of its corps device, and to indicate in a general way its extremely varied and often little appreciated activities. I say little appreciated because in many instances the timely employment of our naval forces has accomplished the solution of serious foreign situations, which, had they not been wisely dealt with in their incipiency, would have later been written large in history instead of being scarcely recorded outside the official Government archives. It is for this reason more than any other that the general public knows so little of the Marine Corps, who, as the infantry branch and landing force of the navy, are the first men on the ground and the first to smell powder in case of trouble with foreign Powers.

In 1809 the strength of the Marine Corps was increased to 1,300 men, and thereafter gradually until at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War it was over 2,500 strong, and for many years it enjoyed the anomalous distinction of being the largest military organization under the command of a colonel. In May, 1898, Congress increased the permanent strength of the Corps to 3,073 men, authorized the enlistment of 1,500 men to serve during the war, and elevated the rank of the commandant to Brigadier-General. The Corps was again increased in 1908 and the rank of the commandant raised to Major-General, and a further increase in 1912 brought the Corps up to its present authorized strength of 342 officers and 9,921 men, including its staff officers, adjutants, and inspectors, quartermasters and paymasters.

Every well-balanced fleet must include in its organization a land force properly trained and equipped to defend adequately an advanced position against the sorties of a strong and alert enemy. This need in our navy is fully met by the Marine Corps, which as an expeditionary force furnishes not only infantry companies, but, in addition, batteries of field artillery, engineer troops, and signalmen

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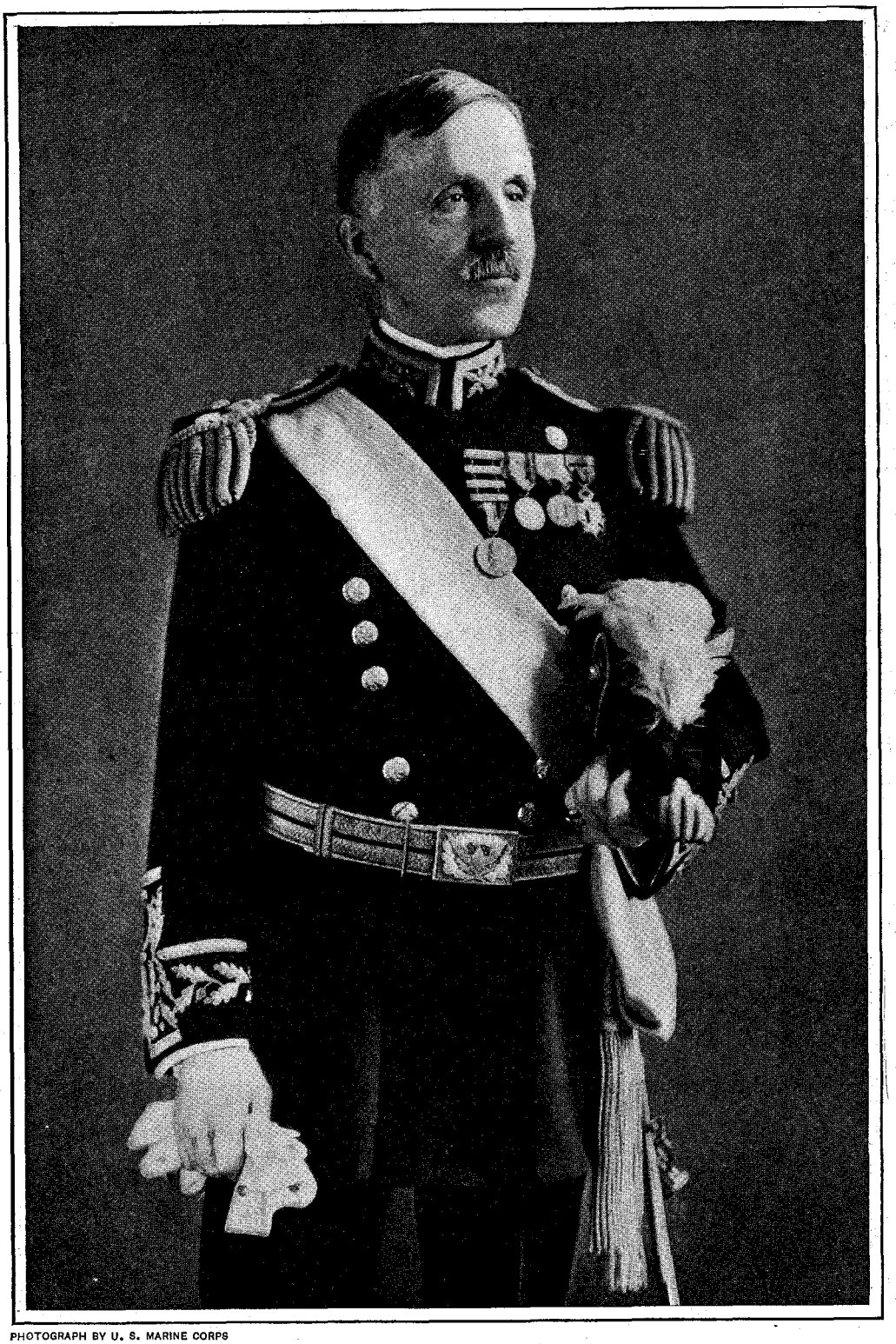

PHOTOGRAPH BY U. S. MARINE CORPS

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE BARNETT, COMMANDANT UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

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of all kinds. It is trained in the landing and emplacement of guns for the protection of harbors, together with the auxiliary search-lights, telegraph and telephone lines, wireless apparatus, and submarine mines.

A sufficient number of men are also especially trained in the duties of railway engineers, firemen, and trainmen, so that communications in an enemy's territory may be uninterrupted and men and stores may be moved with celerity independently of hostile railway personnel. Companies of marines serving aboard our war-ships not only constitute the specially trained landing force of the ship, but they man their quota of the ship's artillery, of whatever caliber, excepting only the guns mounted in turrets.

At each shore station of the Marine Corps the garrison is organized into companies for purposes of administration and training; and, where there are a sufficient number of companies, provisional battalions are formed. The companies are fully equipped for field service at all times, and, as far as practicable, are kept up to war strength ready for an instant call to assemble with other companies at some seaport where a troop ship is in readiness for them and their military stores. Many times during the last few years battalions or regiments (and sometimes brigades of two or more regiments) have, on a few hours' notice, been thus fully organized, supplied with rations, clothing, ammunition, camp equipage, etc., sufficient for several months' active campaign, and embarked on naval or army transports for expeditionary service beyond the seas.

At all navy-yards and naval prisons and on board our battle-ships the guard, sentry, and orderly duty is performed by marines. The strength of the garrisons at shore stations varies greatly, and is dependent upon the requirements in each case and the men available for the duty. Aboard seagoing ships the size of the marine detachment is approximately one-tenth of the entire complement, but usually consists of two officers (one captain and one lieutenant) and from seventy to ninety men, including non-commissioned officers. As in the olden days, these men have

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MARINES LOADING AND FIRING A FIVE-INCH GUN ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES SHIP DELAWARE

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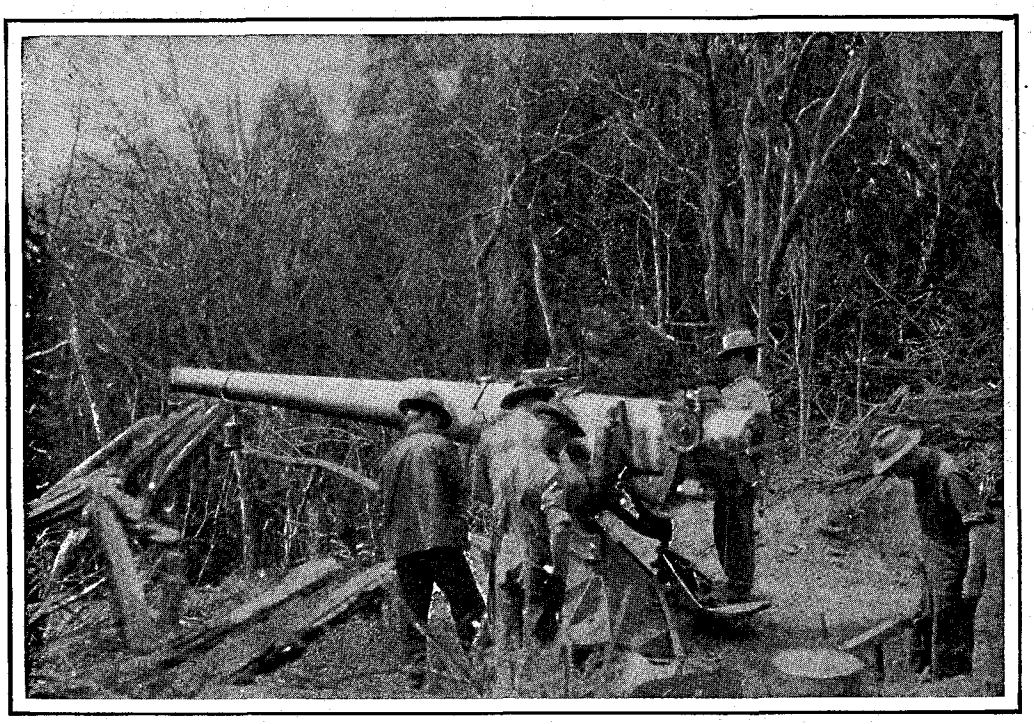

MARINES MOUNTING A FIVE-INCH GUN ON SHORE

nothing to do with the working of the ship, and perform no duties below decks other than those connected with the service of the guns or the fire-control system. They are, however, trained in signaling and the handling of boats under sails and oars, and are responsible for the cleanliness of that portion of the ship assigned to them as living, messing, and berthing spaces. They sleep in hammocks, and are rationed in all respects as are the sailors.

Ashore, marines live in large, commodious, and modern barracks, where they are provided with excellent sleeping-rooms, dining-rooms, baths, reading and writing rooms, and amusement facilities, such as gymnasium apparatus, pool tables, and indoor games. Athletics are encouraged, and every post has its baseball and football teams, etc., in season.

The Marine Corps has always laid great stress on excellence in marksmanship, and has of late years established many enviable records. The Marine Corps team won the National Rifle Match at Camp Perry, in competition with teams of the army, navy, and National Guard, in 1911, and the same year held the record as champion five-inch gun crew of the navy, while in 1910 and again in 1911 the President's Match (individual) was won by a marine. In April, 1913, the Marine Corps team of the American Legation guard at Peking, China, won an international rifle match against the legation guards of Italy, Austria, Russia, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Holland; and in May, 1913, the open championship for North China was won by the marines for the third consecutive year against all comers from all branches of the service of whatever nationality.

The rank and pay of officers and men of the Marine Corps are identical with those of the army, but the uniform is quite distinctive.

Most of the field officers are graduates of the United States Naval Academy, but for several years officers have been appointed by the President after competitive examinations from civil life and from the ranks under practically the same regulations as govern the appointment of civilians, and especially meritorious non-commissioned officers, to the grade of second lieutenant, in the army. There are now seventeen officers in the Marine Corps who by their exceptional ability and educational attainments have been commissioned from the enlisted personnel.

Young men after their appointment are

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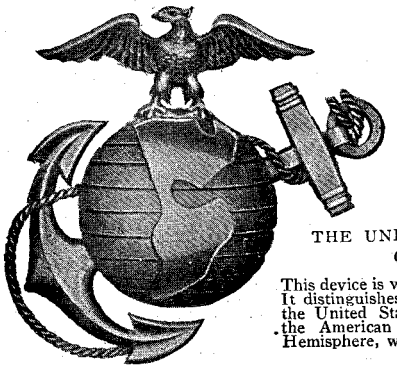
sent to the Marine Officers' School for a year of theoretical and practical military training before being assigned to duty with troops. This training is later supplemented by further studies, as every line officer is required to take the course prescribed each year for the garrison schools, and a certain number every year complete advanced courses of professional study at the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, and the Army War College at Washington, D. C.

The rank and file of the Marine Corps are enlisted for four years, and their enlistment, rank, promotion, pay, clothing allowance, rations, retirement, etc., are, with a few minor exceptions, governed by the same laws and regulations which obtain in the army. After enlistment the men are trained in recruit depots (one on the Atlantic and one on the Pacific coast), where for three months they are given a thorough course of instruction in all the multifarious duties of a soldier. They are then "turned over for duty" as full-fledged regulars, and may be sent anywhere in the world for service, either ashore or afloat. But this does not imply that their training is complete. On the contrary, their instruction in all drills, rifle practice, the service of field and naval guns, signaling, camping, first aid, field intrenchments, outpost and guard duty, patrolling, handling boats, etc., is continuous throughout their entire service, to the end that the highest possible efficiency may be maintained. Under the thorough system of training men who have previously known no restraints or regularity of life are, in a remarkably short time, imbued with a full appreciation of respect for authority and order, the necessity for military discipline and courtesy as well as habits of punctuality, sobriety, and self-sacrifice to duty. It was this training which produced those qualities exhibited by Private William Anthony, who a few moments after the explosion of the ill-fated Maine on February 15, 1898, made his way through the darkness and smoke at the risk of his own life to Captain Sigsbee and reported that the ship was afire and sinking; this was the school which graduated Sergeant John H. Quick, who, at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, on June 14, 1898, showed his devotion to duty by signaling to the U.S.S. Dolphin, with the utmost coolness, from an open ridge, while exposed to the bullets of Spanish marksmen; this was the training which produced a Private Durham, who on October 4, 1912, in the attack and capture of the heretofore unassailable Coyotepe, fearlessly exposed himself to a galling fire that he might cut the last of the barbed-wire entanglements which impeded the advance of his comrades.

The navy and the Marine Corps are interdependent—the Marine Corps on the navy for its very existence as such; and the navy on the Marine Corps for a body of soldiers who are familiar with naval life and traditions, who can drill with "the deck on a slew," and who, because of their naval training, are capable of far more effective co-operation than could be soldiers unused to the sea and life aboard ship. Each takes its hat off to the other in mutual respect and admiration, and both to the army; each member of our "trinity-in-arms" has its own work cut out for it and does it.[1]

[1] Acknowledgment is made of free reference to "The History of the United States Marine Corps," by the late Major Richard S. Collum, U. S. Marine Corps (L. R. Hammersly, Publisher).



THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS DEVICE

This device is worn by the Marines on their caps. It distinguishes them from any other branch of the United States military service. It shows the American eagle resting on the Western Hemisphere, with an anchor in the background

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THE "BIG BUSINESS" MAN AS A SOCIAL WORKER

A SERIES OF PERSONAL PORTRAITS

BY DONALD WILHELM

IV—CHARLES M. COX

CHARLES M. COX was a companion of Edward Bellamy, the author of "Looking Backward." At seventeen he was a little man—a very earnest little man—shifting barrels in Boston's produce market, whetting his ambition to do big things in the business world. He saved precisely one-half of all he earned, and accumulated one thousand dollars. He found a man who had another thousand, and together they went into business.

Young Cox, a blue-eyed, spectacled, precocious boy-man, was not content to go pace in pace with a man going a slower pace. He borrowed and bought out his companion. He established a one-man firm. That firm was Charles M. Cox.

Charles M. Cox hired men and fired them. He signed checks, he signed receipts; he bought grain, he sold grain; he superintended the books, he superintended the stenographers. He made money. For several years he went on making money. He married and had a little boy and a little girl. He went on working, and then something snapped. Precocious Charles M. Cox paid the penalty for running a one-man business. His body broke.

He went to his bed a nervous wreck, and for weeks he lay in bed and watched the business edifice he had built crumbling and falling to pieces despite anything he could do. He lost his customers, he lost his credit, he almost lost hope, and he all but lost his life.

Charles M. Cox rose from his bed in Melrose Highlands and limped to the train that took him to Boston. He went to his office and called the workers in the office together, and took the melon called Charles M. Cox & Co. and sliced it up then and there. A score of years ago he thus organized a co-operative organization in which every man held some stock, and some men held a great deal. Charles M. Cox, the business man, became automatically Charles M. Cox, the Teacher.

This business teacher had suddenly harvested a group of revolutionary business ideals. Perhaps Bellamy influenced him; perhaps "Looking Backward" vitalized him. But Bellamy was a dreamer, Cox was the exact antithesis of a dreamer—he was an American business man living in days of stiff American competition. Bellamy dreamed, but Cox had to figure in terms of business expediency. Expediency directed him to insist, in that first co-operative melon-cutting, that no laborer in the co-operative corporation should henceforth have less than a week of absolute rest on pay every year; no stenographer, no bookkeeper, no office boy, was to have less than a month—on pay; no one of the four men as able to run the co-operative corporation as Charles M. Cox was to have less than two months' vacation—on pay. One of the four objected that first year, when his enthusiasm kept him at the wheel; and the Teacher handed him a steamer ticket, bustled the busy one out of the door, told him to hie abroad and rest and play.

The Charles M. Cox company began to do business; not a one-man business nor a two-man business, but a business that showed conclusively that there is one indisputable and tremendously significant generality in all business; that co-operation is efficiency.

The business grew. The Teacher went on teaching. He found time for woods and canoe and camp, and energy to jump on a motorcycle and go bounding over the hillsides like a youth. He found time to build a little cabin by the Ipswich and to paint. He has had exhibitions in Boston galleries, and Boston artists like his work.

The Chamber of Commerce, the hub of Boston's business universe, began to boom everything New England. There was a little group of undistinguished Americans behind that Chamber of Commerce who were doing things every day in the week. The Chamber of Commerce was good for a front-page story every day; something was doing, something New England in character that took for its interests everything New England:

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railway rates, differential rates, wharfage, steamboat facilities, crops—everything from apples to cotton-mills. Back of that Chamber of Commerce there was one man as active as any man. He was an alert, blue-eyed little individual who never wore an overcoat and who went about the streets with a twinkle behind his spectacles and a hand surreptitiously snatching from right coat pocket to mouth a supply of raisins.

Raisins are Charles M. Cox's dissipation. He eats raisins when he is nervous; he eats raisins when he is about to make a speech; he eats raisins before meals and after meals, for breakfast and at bedtime. He does not smoke; he does not drink. He goes blithely along his busy way with a smile on his face and his hand in his right coat pocket. One found him, and still finds him, entertaining at the City Club. One finds him in conference with Louis D. Brandeis and other members of the Public Franchise League doing big things for Boston and New England; aiding, for instance, the Consolidated Gas Company to adopt a sliding scale whereby it is allowed to increase its dividend in the measure that it decreases its price for gas. Gas isn't a dollar in Boston now—it is eighty cents, and the Company is paying a nine per cent dividend; it is getting richer; the consumers are getting gladder.

In Melrose Highlands, a little suburb at the edge of Boston, one asks the station-master if he knows Charles M. Cox. The station-master takes his pipe from his mouth and wags his thumb over his shoulder at a house high up on a crag.

"Charles M. Cox," he says, "is the first citizen of Melrose Highlands. I guess I do know Charles M. Cox! Good Lord, he's State Senator now!"

Everybody in Melrose Highlands knows Charles M. Cox. He built a swimming-pool for the kiddies; he supplied the ground for a playfield; he's the friend of every native from Geraldine Farrar to the station-agent. He eats raisins, drives about in his automobile, makes friends. He doesn't champion raisin-eating; but he is opposed to whisky-drinking. He admits that raisins have not "made" him; he insists that, if all intoxicants were abolished, more employers would understand more employees.

"Hard work and poverty make men drink," he says, earnestly, "and I don't much blame them; but, just the same, the fact that they do drink holds them back, and it's a great big factor—a rock in the stream of co-operation.

"Co-operation isn't charity," he goes on. "You've got to feel the joy of being friends with your employees. The employer who's with them in spirit has no trouble; but the proud employer who looks down on his men will catch it if he doesn't watch out, even if he pays the best wages in the world. Co-operation is the remedy for our industrial ills, and co-operation carries with it honest good-fellowship. It's a poor system of civilization anyway wherein a person born rich conceives himself superior to the one who works; we've got to reverse that—we ought to reverse it—and consider the worker 'way above the unworker."

Every day into New England comes a train-load of grain consigned to the co-operative company of Charles M. Cox. But one would not think, to go bounding over the hills with him in the Co-operative Corporation touring car, that Charles M. Cox is president of three or four corporations, one of them the biggest of its kind east of the Erie. He chats about the sunsets; he suggests that he saw the day before a landscape by Tarbell with a tree larger ten feet from the base than at the base. "Strange," he suggests, "is it not?" He side-steps talk about Cox. He is a very modest corporation president. He is a very modest Senator. He does not say anything about having taken his co-workers and helped them all he could. He would rather talk about the peculiar shade of azure beyond the pines that climb the opposite hillside; he would rather snatch at a note-book and show skillfully how to "get" the bristles of a pine bough on canvas.

He is fifty-four years old; he is as young as he feels, as young as he looks, and a good deal younger than he thinks he looks. At his Ipswich camp he wiggles a canoe paddle skillfully. He suggests that it would be good fun to shoot the flimsy canoe over the sluiceway of the dam; he strips off his clothes and hops, like a big bullfrog, into clear water. Then he goes tramping. He tramps like Rudyard Kipling up and down the dusty roads and chats all the way like David Grayson himself.

If there is an undistinguished citizen in Boston who has been a constructive social worker, who has doctored and directed and fostered all the good that there is in his corporation family, who has done his share for his community and town and State, that

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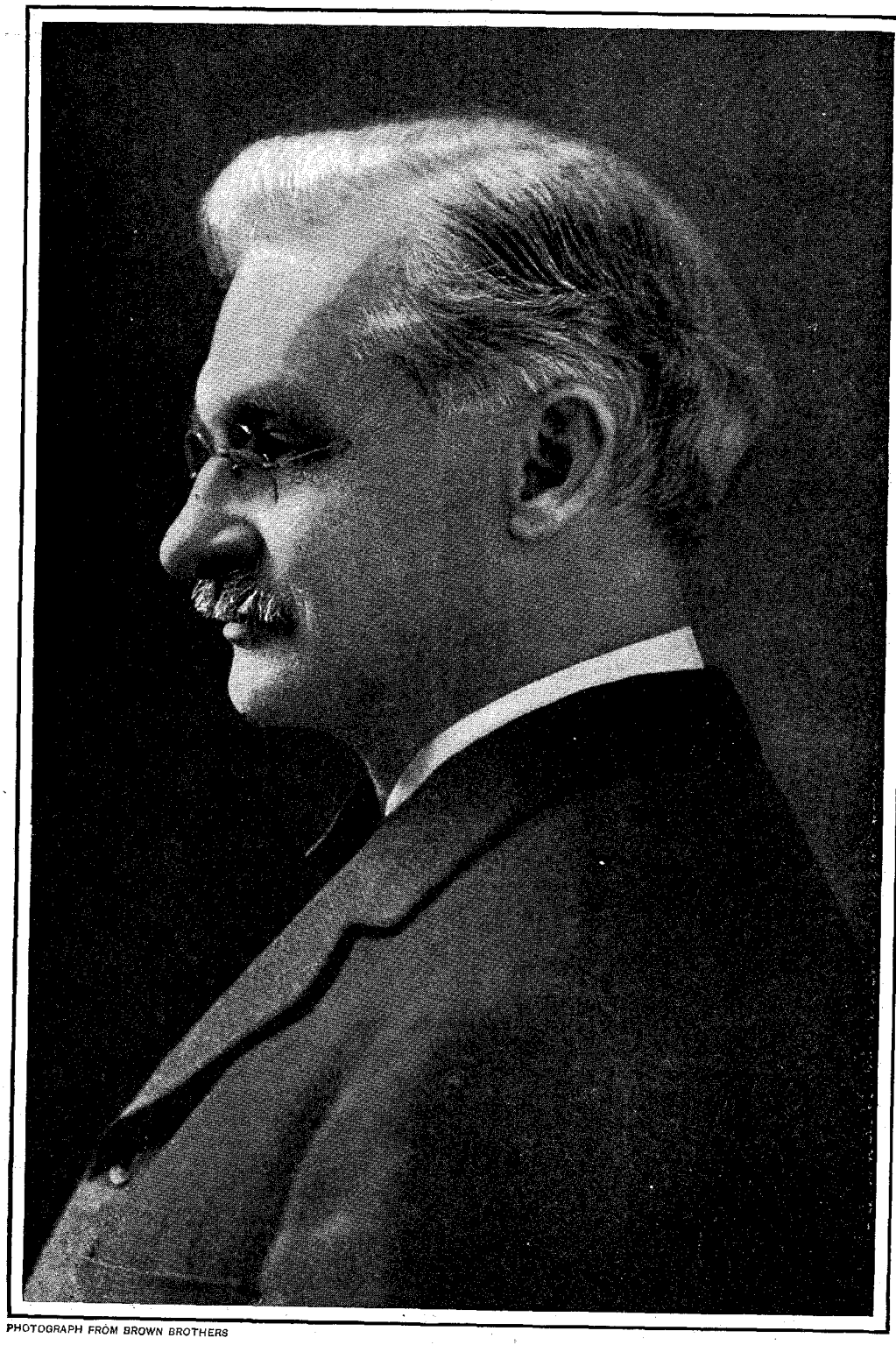

PHOTOGRAPH FROM BROWN BROTHERS

CHARLES M. COX

"This business teacher had suddenly harvested a group of revolutionary business ideas. . . . He is fifty-four years old; he is as young as he feels, as *young as he looks*, and a good deal younger than he thinks he looks. . . . Efficiency for him means what it is going to mean to all American business men—happiness"

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man is Charles M. Cox. He is a worthy social worker. He is an exemplar to business men all over the country. He has shown that the "tired business man" is a puzzling individual with more enterprise than judgment, who is pushing ahead so fast that he is kicking the ground from under his feet and standing still—a self-pitying individual who does not know enough to rest when he is tired or to play when his day's work is done.

Efficiency to Charles M. Cox is qualitative and not quantitative. Simply to do things and make the dirt fly is to him the youthful stage—the foolish stage. Efficiency means for him the getting of the biggest conceivable result, and the biggest result comes only from the biggest man. He is not a philanthropist; he is not a publicist; he is not a preacher. He is a pleasant little man with raisins in his right coat pocket, who is calmly going his way, trusting his subordinates, entertaining them, hobnobbing in daytime with big business men, entertaining at evening time celebrities and salubrities who have ideas. He has been known to have F. Hopkinson Smith to dinner one evening, and the next evening a group of settlement workers from the Civic Service House in the North End of Boston. Efficiency for him means what it is going to mean to all American business men—happiness. "The happy man is the efficient man," says Charles M. Cox. "If you want efficiency, make your men happy. Give them what you want yourself. Ethically this is the right thing to do because it is the square thing to do; commercially it is the right thing to do because it is the profitable thing to do. It pays. From the time that I reorganized the company we have made money faster. Our business has grown by leaps, and business has become something closely akin to pleasure. We like to do business our way."

THE CORONATION OF BENEDICT XV

BY ROBERT GARLAND

OF course it was the Mater who announced that she was going to the coronation of the new Pope. We—Patricia and I—might do as we pleased, but she was going to see the triple crown placed upon the head of Benedict XV, Vicar of Christ.

We were in Rome, so was the Pope, so was Cardinal Gibbons; so why shouldn't we go? Thus did the Mater argue. First we laughed at her, then marshaled our reasons for disbelief. We told her that it was impossible—that it was not only impossible, but absurd. Of course she couldn't go! We informed her that, owing to the unrest prevailing in Europe, the ceremonies were to be held in the comparatively small Sistine Chapel, instead of in the unbelievable vastness of St. Peter's, the largest church in Christendom. These ceremonies were to be as simple as a Papal coronation could be. A foreboding of disaster lay upon Italy like a vast shadow. Invitations were as scarce as were Germans in Rome, which made them very scarce indeed. All this we emphasized, but it availed not. Come what might, the Mater was going to the coronation.

It seemed but yesterday that the loud-voiced newsboys had startled Rome by announcing the death of Pius X. The venerable ceremony of the Camerlingo had been observed—a ceremony in which a chosen cardinal, a small silver hammer in hand, deals three symbolic taps upon the brow of the dead Pontiff, three times calling him by his Christian name, and, after an impressive pause, turning to the assembled prelates, pronounces the simple words, "The Pope is dead."

Pius X was an unostentatious, kindly man. High and low grieved at his passing and mourned him sincerely. Half Rome wore black to honor him, some only a sable band about the arm. On the walls were placards on which, between two wide black margins, the people testified their loss.

At such a time how could days drag! We had moved, penniless at times, against a somber background of war and rumors of war, made appallingly real by the endless regiments marching through the streets—thousands upon thousands of strong, manly fellows, filled with the vitality of Italian youth. Night after night, fifes and drums awakened us from sleep to rush to our balconies to behold numberless soldiers passing in the streets below, to hear

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POPE BENEDICT XV

"He has none of the simplicity of his predecessor. He is an aristocrat, a believer in the power of rulers, both temporal and spiritual. . . . It will be interesting to see what he will do"

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THE CHURCH AND PIAZZA OF ST. PETER'S

" For one entire day and part of another she had stood on the Piazza of St. Peter's awaiting the announcement of the election of a new Pope "

the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching men, or the clatter of cavalry and the rumble of heavy gun carriages; and often there had been the stirring martial music of a distant band.

It was not surprising that the days had marched by at double-quick, and the coronation of the newly elected Pope was upon us almost before we realized that his predecessor was dead.

The Mater, with theatric foresight, chose the pension *table d'hôte* as the most fitting opportunity to announce openly her determination to be present at the Papal coronation. We had discussed the war, the invasion of France and Belgium, until we were sick at heart, and this new subject was seized upon with a grim effort to make the most of it, shoving, if we could, the war momentarily aside.

The Mater, having dropped her verbal bomb, sat back complacently to watch the effect. This effect was all she could have desired. The Americans promptly said, "Impossible." The Italians gave her to understand that they had tried for invitations and failed, and so, of course, a foreigner had no chance whatsoever. The lady from Boston remarked that she had a friend who knew Cardinal O'Connell's secretary, but apprehended that this would be of meager help to her. The English said that it had been a charming day, and that in all their Roman experience they had never seen the Pincio so beautiful.

Patricia and I kept silent, wondering what card the Mater had up her sleeve. We recalled her vital interest in the Conclave and its ultimate decision. For one entire day and part of another she had stood on the Piazza of St. Peter's awaiting the announcement of the election of a new Pope, which is first made by the rising of a slender column of white smoke from a pipe on the roof of the Vatican, visible to the watching throng—a column of smoke made by the burning of the ballots. For one whole day the crowd had waited patiently, swaying this way and that, and the Mater had waited with it, and we had waited with the Mater. On this, the second day of the Conclave, the piazza had been thronged until the sun set in golden glory behind the largest temple in Christendom, and Michael Angelo's dome floated above the church like a bubble blown by some giant child. But night came on at last. No longer did the setting sun tip the fountain's spray with prismatic colors. The lights began to tremble in the twilight of Bernini's colonnades that hold in their encircling arms the vast piazza. Then we knew that there would

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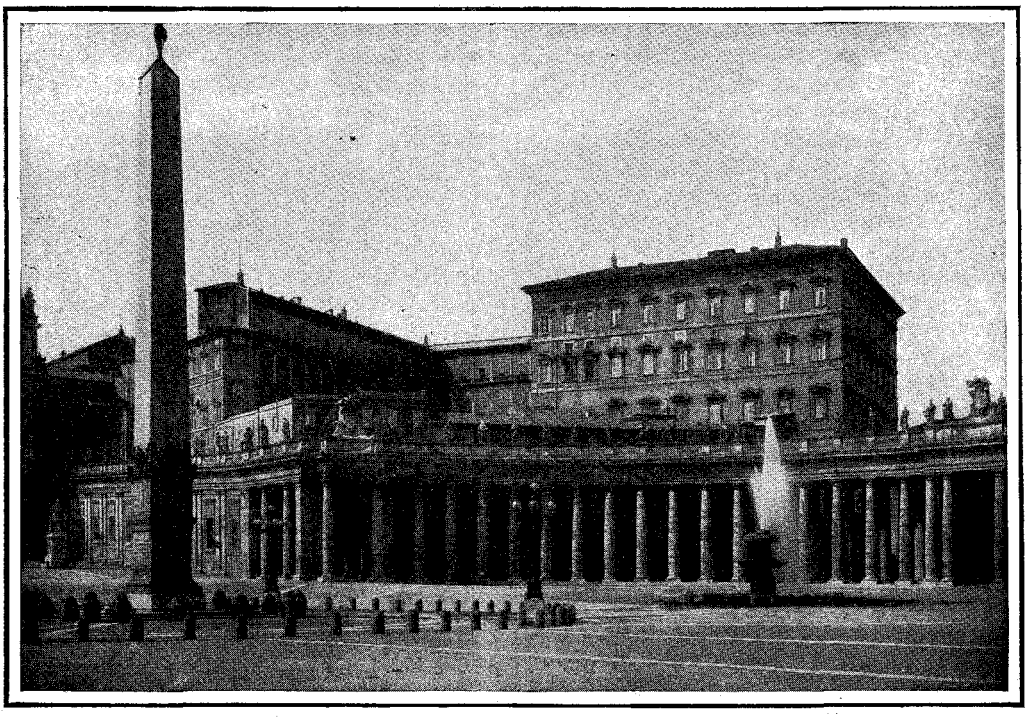

THE VATICAN PALACE

"Each cardinal in the Conclave is assigned a small apartment, consisting of a bedroom, dressing-room, and sitting-room, and is, figuratively speaking, imprisoned therein until a new Pope is elected"

be no decision that day, and, moving with the multitude, we crossed the Tiber and hurried home, planning the hour at which we would arrive on the morrow.

Shortly after nine o'clock on the following day we joined the waiting multitude that seemed to outnumber that of the previous day. Many individuals had brought camp-stools, books, and luncheon, and one or two delightful old ladies had come with their knitting, clearly signifying their intention of spending the day. Newsboys ran here and there calling war news of the most depressing kind. The fountains flung their streams aloft in the air, and, where the drops of water caught the sun, two rainbows arched the basins like gayly painted handles to enormous baskets.

By eleven the square was a dense mass of sweltering humanity; many late comers were forced to take positions where the smoke-pipe from which issued the first signal of the election was not visible. By a few minutes after the hour the thin stream of black smoke that had daily issued from the pipe was turned, as if by a miracle, into a column of purest white; simultaneously a tremendous roar, like that of an angry sea, arose, and grew louder and louder, until one felt that it must be heard throughout the universe. It seemed to fling itself against the colossal façade of St. Peter's to be returned increased a hundredfold. Cries of "*Viva Papa! Viva Papa!*" filled the air, as with one accord the crowd surged toward the church of the fisherman. On all sides were heard discussions as to whether the blessing would be given within or without the church, for by this first blessing of the populace the policy of the new Pope would be decided; if the blessing took place in the church, the new Pope showed thereby that he would follow the example of his immediate predecessors and remain a voluntary prisoner within the Vatican; but should this significant blessing be given from the balcony in front of the church, it would show that the new Pontiff would adopt the old way and make himself free to come and go wherever and whenever he saw fit.

The throng surged steadily toward the entrance of San Pietro. The Mater, Patricia, and I surged with it. Had we so wished, we were powerless to do otherwise, for we were literally lifted off our feet, and we were willing victims.

As we came in from the garish light of midday, the church seemed dimly lighted. At the west end the window of gold spilled its yellow light upon the mosaic floor, while before the

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twisted pillars of the high altar's *baldacchino* the eighty-seven tiny lights which burn unceasingly before the tomb of St. Peter twinkled like stars reflected in a placid stream. Above all heads the vastness of the dome soared toward the sky, turning the multitude into a swarm of pygmies by its size.

At last, high upon a balcony, the newly elected Pope appeared, hardly visible in the dim light within the church. The streams of applause that greeted him—streams of applause that swept through the vast structure like a mighty hurricane, echoed and re-echoed in the towering dome, thrown back upon us, their volume multiplied unbelievably—left no doubt of his welcome.

One final cry of "*Viva Papa!*" came from the nave, a stupendous "Sh!" from the expectant crowd, then absolute quiet. From far above came the voice of Cardinal della Volpe announcing that the Sacred College in Conclave had elected Cardinal Giacoma della Chiesa to the Holy See, and that he had taken the name of Benedict XV. Deafening cheers greeted the announcement, and went on and on as if loth to cease. When quiet was once more restored, the Papal blessing was publicly given for the first time by the new Pope.

Patricia, who had "become acquainted," as she termed it, with a perfectly good Italian, informed us that the blessing had been previously bestowed on the assembled cardinals. She had also gleaned other interesting information. It appeared that each cardinal in the Conclave is assigned a small apartment, consisting of a bedroom, dressing-room, and sitting-room, and is, figuratively speaking, imprisoned therein until a new Pope is elected. He may talk with no one. Food and drink are passed to him through a small opening. An election is not infrequently a long-drawn-out procedure; again it is quickly over; but no cardinal knows who has been chosen until the cardinals are all assembled, when the announcement is formally made to the chosen one. "Do you accept?" he is asked. "I accept," he replies; "it is the will of God." He is then asked what name he has selected, and, after his choice has been made known, he blesses the assembled Conclave and another Pope has been added to the long list of men who have made and unmade so much of the history of the civilized world. As soon as the election is proclaimed the new Pope, robed in pontifical vestments, mounts the throne in the Sistine Chapel, where, in accordance with the ritual, he receives the kiss of peace from each one of the cardinals.

At the pension *table d'hôte* on the day of the election it was the all-absorbing topic; for the time being even the war was forgotten. Our host, a charming Roman gentleman, had the honor of knowing his Holiness quite well when he was the Under-Secretary of State under Leo XIII. Benedict XV is an aristocrat by birth, our host informed us, and had been intended for the law. At the youthful age of seventeen he went to his father and said, "I wish to become a priest." "Well, my son," replied his father, half jestingly, "study law first; when you have graduated, we can speak of theology." From that day the lad who was to be Benedict XV never mentioned his desire to join the priesthood until he was graduated, when, coming to his father, his legal diploma in his hand, he said: "Here is my diploma. As you see, I have graduated with honor. I am now going to join the priesthood." Which he did.

The new Pope is a native of Genoa, where he was born November 21, 1854. After finishing his school course he went to the University of Genoa, where he took his degree in jurisprudence in 1875. A few months later he entered the Capranica College to study theology, took his degree there, and was almost immediately appointed prelate and sent with Cardinal Rampolla to Madrid. He was appointed Secretary of State by Cardinal Rampolla, was summoned to Rome as copyist, then became Under-Secretary of State. On the elevation of Pope Pius X to the Holy See he was replaced by Cardinal Merry del Val, and was made Archbishop of Bologna. He had been a cardinal only a few months, having been elected at the last consistory. "And," concluded our host, who is not only an Italian of the Italians, but a Catholic of the Catholics, "he has none of the simplicity of his predecessor. He is an aristocrat, a believer in the power of rulers, both temporal and spiritual. I know him so well that I shall watch him with the keenest interest. But of one thing I am sure: under Benedict XV all the simplicity of the Vatican under Pius X will disappear. It will be interesting to see what he will do."

The evening papers told of the arrival of Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, and Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston. The papers went on to say that these two princes of the Church had landed in Italy at the same time. The

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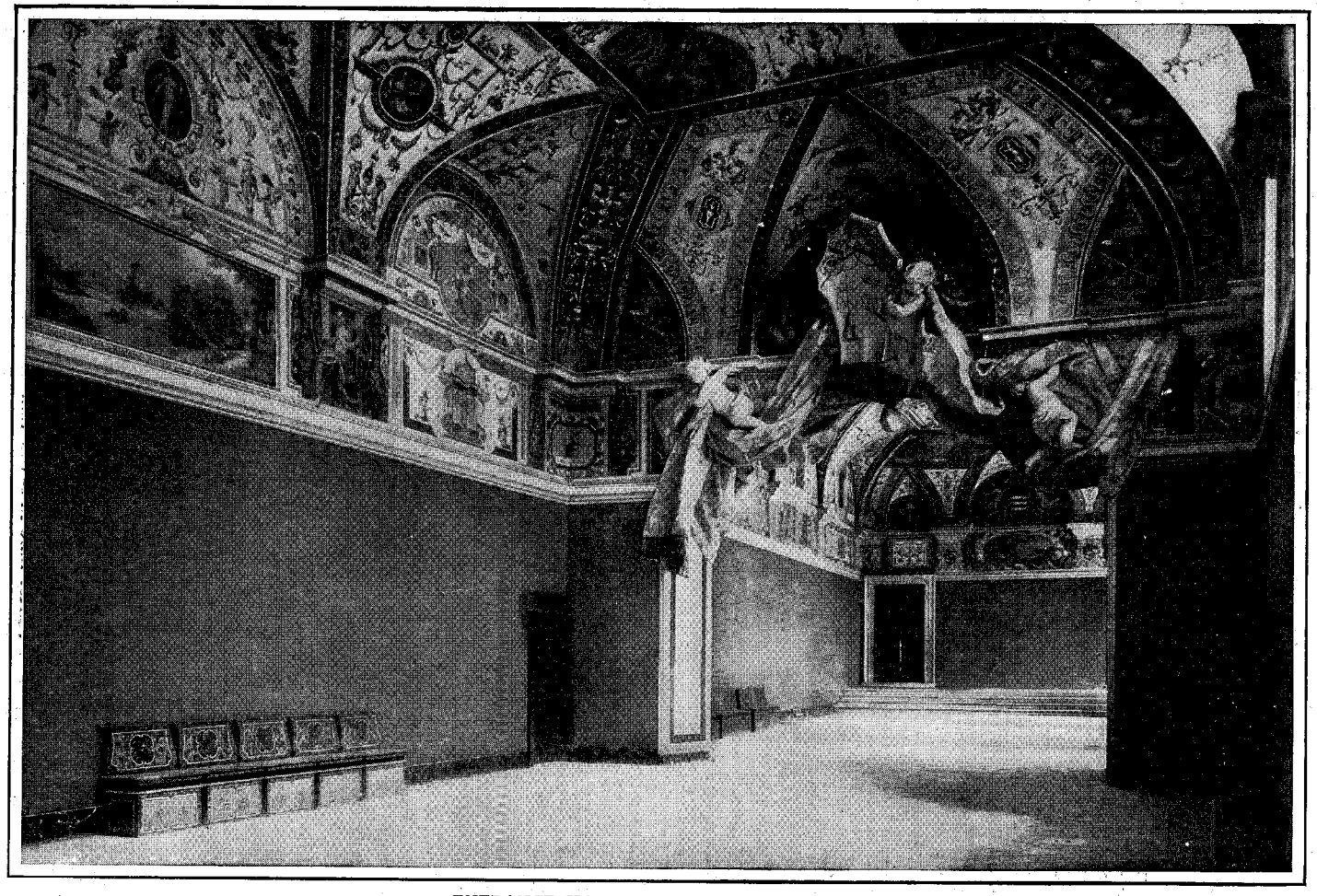

ENTRANCE HALL OF THE SALA DUCALE

"Through this long, rather ornate room his Holiness would pass on his way to his coronation"

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first named came on to the Eternal City by train, arriving in time for the Papal benediction, but too late to take part in the Conclave. The Bostonian left for Rome by motor, thinking thereby to save time and trouble, but the god of machines and the spirit of the road ordained otherwise, and Cardinal O'Connell arrived to find everything over except the coronation. "Behold," concluded the Italian newspapers, "the triumph of simplicity!"

The Mater was greatly elated to learn of the arrival of our Cardinal, for on him she staked her chances of being present at the coronation. All our besiegings of the American College had been resultless; we had got no farther than the flower-bedecked court with its gurgling fountain and its far-from gurgling custodian. Here we had met with a discouraging series of negatives.

"Are there any invitations to the coronation?" we asked by way of overture.

"No," was the brief reply of the doorkeeper.

"Will there *be* any?" inquired the Mater.

"No," said the man, closing the door.

"Are visitors to be admitted?" I hastened to ask, thrusting my foot in the diminishing opening.

"No," again said the doorkeeper.

"Will Cardinal Gibbons be able to procure invitations for us?" inquired Patricia, in the tone she usually reserves for eligible young men.

"No," said the man, a shade more pleasantly.

"Shall we return later and see if there are any invitations?" I asked, principally for the pleasure of hearing him reiterate that discouraging "No."

"No," said the doorkeeper.

I withdrew my foot.

"Is there anything else you could say 'No' to?" asked the Mater, politely, preparing to embark in a waiting cab.

"No," answered the doorkeeper, without the vestige of a smile. And then he closed the door.

The evening papers announced where Cardinal Gibbons might be found; he was established in a huge building in the Street of the Four Fountains, near the Via Nazionale, and there I went, card in hand. This was Saturday morning, and the coronation had been set for the morrow, Sunday, at half after nine in the morning. From the busy street I passed into a cool courtyard, beautiful with trees, plants, and flowers, and was conducted upstairs to a spacious, softly lighted *salon*, its wainscoted walls and vaulted ceiling but dimly seen in the light that percolated through the drawn blinds. I had not waited long when Cardinal Gibbons's secretary appeared, a handsome young man with a winning smile and a frank, manly American way about him. In answer to my request, he said that as yet they had received no invitations, but expected some when the Cardinal returned from the Vatican, which would not be until late, but he would give him my card at once and see what could be done.

Invitations were to be very limited, he added; but would I come back at six or seven o'clock? I might find invitations awaiting me. And, with a hearty hand-shake that cheered me far more than the words, I departed. At the luncheon table Patricia and I acknowledged defeat, and every one said or looked "I told you so." But the Mater was still optimistic. At seven I went to find the coveted invitations awaiting me. Dinner that night was a *festa* for us. The Mater went so far as to order a bottle of Orvieto to celebrate her triumph, to say nothing of the humbling of all the other *table d'hôters*.

The next day, Sunday, the morning of the coronation, dawned warm and clear. We partook of our Continental breakfast on the terrace overlooking the Eternal City.

The Mater and Patricia appeared in black semi-evening gowns with strange, Spanish-looking scarfs of black lace draped over their heads. They distinctly suggested a somber sort of cozy corner, but the effect was charming, nevertheless. Patricia was rather suggestive of masked balls and moonlit nights in the Alhambra; but somehow the Mater's costume seemed not at all bizarre; the effect of the black scarf against her gray hair was distinctive and charming. It mattered not whether the costume was becoming or the reverse, for one had had to wear it or stay at home, and rather than have missed the coronation the Mater would have sallied forth in a ballet skirt and pink stockings. As for myself, I wore evening clothes and white tie, and felt like a waiter in a cheap café.

Our cab had been ordered for half-past eight, but, being a Roman cab, it came a quarter of an hour earlier and waited, with the taxi ticking expensively. By half-past eight we were ready to start, and as I told the *cocchiere* to drive to the Bronze Doors of the Vatican—the entrance we were instructed

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to use—he seemed greatly impressed and asked if we were going to the coronation of the new Pope. I answered in the affirmative, and off we started at a breakneck speed, down through the Piazza di Spagna, past the flower-covered Spanish Stairs, along the Tiber, where the new quays make Rome almost Parisian, across the Bridge of Sant' Angelo, past Hadrian's Tomb, where our modest taxicab joined an interminable line of other cabs, private carriages, and motors stretching toward St. Peter's as far as the eye could reach.

Patricia and the Mater commented on the absence of the bright blues, greens, and oranges of the Italian uniforms, but no member of the Italian army is permitted to enter the Vatican in uniform, for since the separation of Church and State the Vatican has never in any way acknowledged the Italian Government. When this Government came into power, it offered the Papacy 2,750,000 lire ($550,000) per annum, which has never been accepted; the accumulation lapses to the Government every five years, and cannot afterwards be recovered.

Even at this early hour the Piazza of St. Peter's was thronged, and as our carriage moved slowly along the snakelike line that coiled toward Bernini's right-hand colonnade we seemed to be floating through a sea of upturned faces, so thick were the people massed about our carriage wheels. At last the colonnade was reached. Here a line of *carabiniere* kept back the crowd, but these Government policemen may not cross the threshold of the Vatican; there the Papal gendarmes have full sway.

With this well-dressed, chattering Italian throng we passed through the Bronze Doors, where we and our invitations were closely inspected by a tall Swiss Guard, in his queerly jumbled uniform of yellow, black, and red, unchanged since the time of Michael Angelo, whose design they are. We then mounted by the Scala Regia, that famous and really beautiful stairway designed by the Bernini of the colonnades and built by Pope Urban VIII. We rushed through the Sala Regia, built during the reign of Paul III by Antonio di Sangallo, and used as a hall of audience for Ambassadors. We had but a glance at Vasari's famous frescoes, which include that of "The Return of Gregory XI from Avignon."

The Sala Ducale was a mass of humanity, for through this long, rather ornate room his Holiness would pass on his way to his coronation. At one end were four long marble steps; at the base of these rested the *sedia gestatoria*, the chair in which the Pope is borne high above the throng; in letters of gold across the back was the name of Leo XIII, the well-beloved. Against the wall stood the immense candles in holders of gold and the two lofty triumphal feather fans which are carried on high by bearers attired in red tunics embroidered with silk—fans of the exact pattern and design of those seen in frescoes of pre-Christian periods.

From where the *sedia gestatoria* rested on a silk rug a straight aisle led toward the Sistine Chapel, passing beneath the delightfully pagan cupids holding aloft a *baldacchino* of marble. This aisle was outlined with benches, before which the Papal Guard stood in an almost solid row as far as the eye could see. On either side the good-natured crowd moved here and there, a laughing, cheery crowd of men and women in black and white; many of the men, tall, erect, handsome, were officers in the Italian army, who may not wear their uniforms, nor even a national medal, in the Papal territory.

These black and white costumes made an effective background for the various Papal officers and men, who moved to and fro, imparting to the ceremony a color that we do not have at home; the whole pontifical family—assistant prelates, the patriarchs, the archbishops, and the bishops—with vestments and miters of gold; the Camerieri Segreti Partecipanti in violet silk, the Camerieri Partecipanti of the cape and the sword in black velvet Renaissance costumes, with ruffs and golden chains; the whole innumerable ecclesiastical suite, the chaplains, the prelates of every class and degree; the gendarmes, with their enormous busbies; the Palatine Guards in blue trousers and black tunics; the Swiss Guards uniformed in red, yellow, and black, with breastplates of silver; and the renowned Noble Guards, superb in their high boots, white pigskins, scarlet tunics, gold laces and helmets. What a gorgeous sight it was!

The twilight of the Sistine Chapel lay beyond, clearly visible, but the dense crowd blocked the way. The Mater, Patricia, and I were ushered to seats on the long line of benches along which the Pope and his suite must pass. Patricia had been improving her time by making eyes at a tall, good-looking Noble Guard—she denied the accusation, but both the Mater and I saw her—and it

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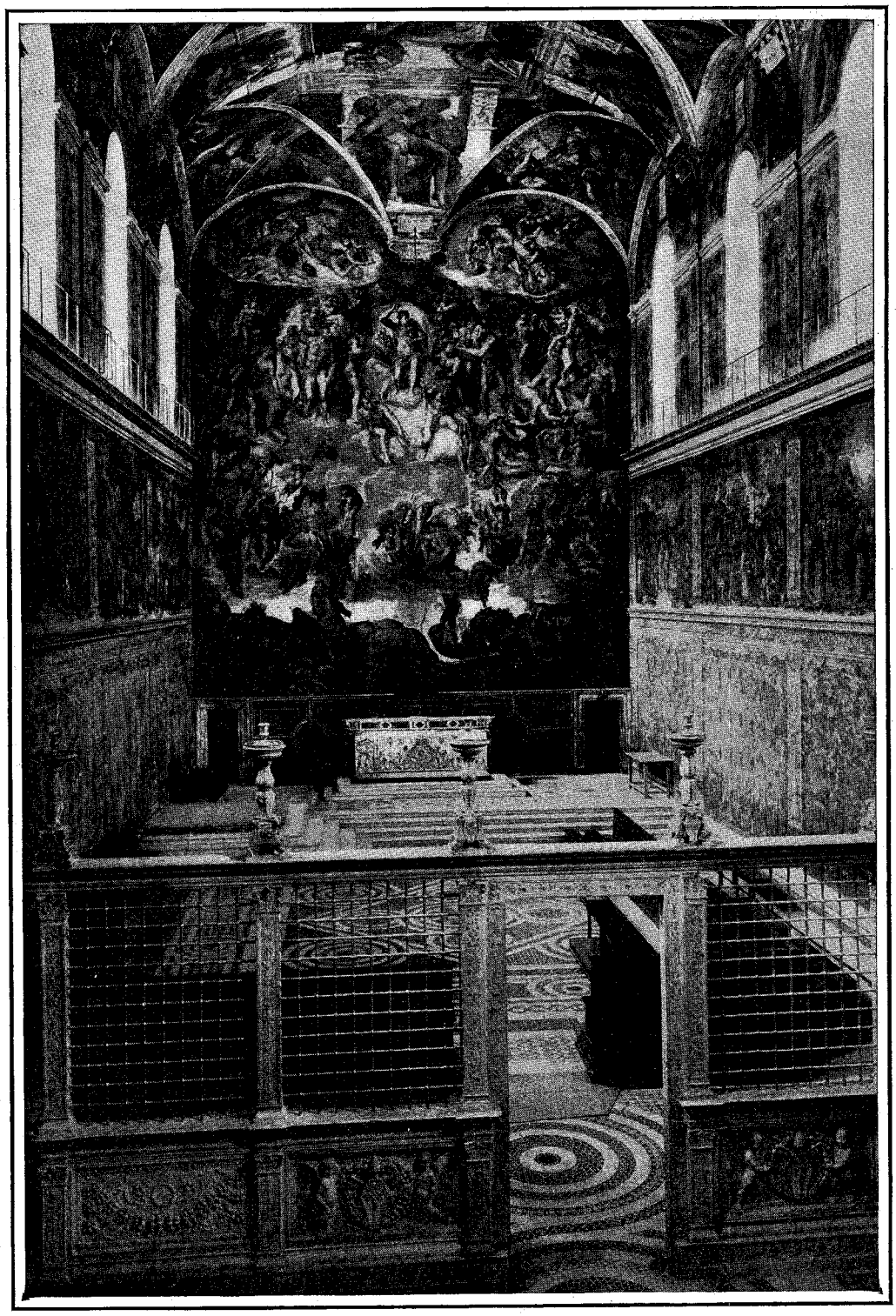

INTERIOR OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL

"About us in this chapel . . . are some of the greatest masterpieces of the Renaissance, . . . and, above all, dwarfing all else, that ceiling which still remains the artistic triumph of all times"

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was she who obtained for us the seats so near to where his Holiness would pass that we could have touched him without unduly stretching our arms. He said—the Noble Guard, not the Pope—that we could get in the Sistine Chapel after the procession had passed; now it would be an impossibility.

A little after half-past nine a shout such as we had never heard before arose, a mighty roar, piling sound upon sound, the high-pitched voices of women mingling with the deeper ones of the men, forming one huge crashing chord of human tones. By standing on tiptoe we could see that Benedict XV had entered the long hall, descended the marble steps, and was seating himself in the *sedia gestatoria*. First came the cardinals, putting on their miters as they passed, their scarlet gowns covered with long white mantles embroidered with gold, and many adorned with precious stones that sparkled as they walked. At the rear, nearest the Holy Father, came Cardinal Gibbons, his sweet, kindly face in profound repose, his eyes gazing straight ahead to where the candles in the Sistine Chapel flickered beyond a screen of gold.

Following the cardinals came six candle-bearers, and then, high above the people, borne on the shoulders of sixteen men, appeared Benedict XV. Above him the *flabelli* waved those great feather fans which formerly were waved before the Emperors of pagan Rome. He looked neither to the right nor to the left as he passed, blessing the people with the three movements of the hand which signify the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Attired in the smallest of the three white vestments—there are three always kept on hand, a small one, a middle size one, and a large one, so as to be suited to the cardinal who may be elected—every few moments he lifted his left hand to adjust the heavy golden head-covering that continually became displaced. His intellectual, determined, masculine face was very pale; the hand that dispensed the blessing trembled; and behind the spectacles which, as in all his photographs, sit unevenly upon his nose, his eyes seemed tender and a little sad.

Thus he passed, first into the Pauline Chapel, where are two almost forgotten frescoes of Michael Angelo—"The Crucifixion of St. Peter" and "The Coronation of St. Paul." It is here that the three little piles of hemp are lighted before the Pope; as they flare up, one after the other, a solemn voice is heard saying, "Thus pass the things of this world." And the procession moves again into the Sistine Chapel, the crowning glory of the greatest artist who has ever lived. Within its consecrated walls the first Papal mass of Benedict XV was said. The dense crowd interfered with our vision, but the superb music drifted solemnly toward where we stood by the wall, and, although the screen that cut the chapel hall in two hid most of the ceremony, it did not hide that wonderful ceiling of Michael Angelo's, which makes everything human of small account. Beneath the pity and the horror of the "Last Judgment" the ceremony went on and on, and the music rose and fell like waves upon a distant shore. About us in this chapel, built by Baccio Pintelli in 1473—a score of years before the discovery of America—for Sixtus IV, are some of the greatest masterpieces of the Renaissance: frescoes by Perugino, Sandro Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Lucca Signorelli, and, above all, dwarfing all else, that ceiling which still remains the artistic triumph of all times.

As the chapel grew hot and unbearably close, we went out to promenade the terrace overlooking the courtyard of S. Damaso, which was full of waiting motor cars and restless horses. Beyond, across the Eternal City, one saw the long yellow line of the King's Palace, formerly the summer palace of the reigning Pope, and we could not but wonder how long this could continue, the King of Italy and the Pope gazing at each other across the city for which they had both fought, the defeated one refusing to acknowledge the victor, waiting patiently, quietly, a voluntary prisoner—waiting—waiting for what?

When we returned, refreshed by the sunshine and air of the courtyard, the mass was almost ended. Lighted candles flickered beyond the screen of gold; the odor of sweltering humanity mingling with the fragrance of incense hung heavy in the air. In a little while the procession reformed, and, led as before by the cardinals, the Pope was borne aloft amid his applauding people, his triple crown upon his head, a smile upon his pale, thoughtful face, the pagan feathers floating on before him like two enormous birds of victory, his hand raised in benediction. Thus ended the solemn ceremony, and we found ourselves in the midday glare of the Piazza of St. Peter's, our evening clothes looking out of place as we called madly for a cab.

Rome, Italy.

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REMINISCENCES[1]

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

CHAPTER XI

RECONSTRUCTION: THE PROBLEM

FOR the ten years preceding the Civil War a slave insurrection had been dreaded. The raid of John Brown had thrown, not the State of Virginia only, but the entire Atlantic slave States, into a panic. The history of the war proved this dread to be without just cause. The Negroes remained at home raising the crops while their masters fought in the field to keep them in slavery. In some cases this patient waiting of the slaves may have been due to a habit of abject submission which they had not the will power to break; in many cases it was due to a feeling of loyalty by the slaves toward the masters and mistresses, for between them had grown up a peculiar feeling of attachment which the North has never understood—loyalty of service on the one hand, loyalty of protection on the other. But more important than either was the religious faith of the Negro—superstitious, some think it; rational, I think it. The Negro is something of a fatalist. He realized that the problem in which he found himself, by no act of his, involved was far too great for him to understand. God was at work, and God would somehow accomplish his redemption. He could do nothing; he must wait and see the salvation of the Lord.

But the Emancipation Proclamation wrought a gradual change in his feeling, quickened his aspirations, and in hundreds of cases became a call to action. Even before the Proclamation, Negroes had flocked from their plantations to neighboring camps of the Federal armies. Benjamin F. Butler, with characteristic shrewdness, confiscated them as contraband of war, and "contrabands" they became. After the Emancipation Proclamation, the exodus of slaves increased, and their title was changed to "freedmen." Thus gradually in all the Southern territory permanently occupied by the Federal authority there grew up camps of Negroes, many of them almost as helpless as a lost dog without his master. A race does not easily and quietly pass from a habit of dependence and submission into a habit of self-support and self-control.

With these Negroes, companions only in their misfortunes, were camps of white men and women fleeing from the South. Some of them were Unionists. A Northern man, realizing the contempt with which the victorious section regarded the "Copperhead," should have been able to imagine the hatred felt in the defeated South for the Unionist. But the motto "Put yourself in his place" requires more imagination than most men possess. Nor was it only Union men that fled to the territory protected by Northern armies. Secessionists, deprived of home and industry by the devastating progress of the war, fled for safety and support to the regions where war was not. And with them were many poor whites, who understood the causes and nature of the war even less than the Negroes whom they despised. Said a Confederate prisoner who had been drafted into the Southern service to a friend of mine, "What did you-uns come down to fight we-uns for?" What answer could be given to such a question with any hope that it would be understood?

What to do with these helpless colored "freedmen" and white "refugees" became the perplexing problem of every division commander as fast as his territory was cleared of Confederate forces. Rations could be, and were, provided out of the army's stores. Shelter was provided where possible out of army barracks or abandoned school-houses and churches. Here and there some fitful work was provided and some semblance of schooling. But to organize either an industrial or an educational system was beyond the power of local authorities. That this must be done for all the territories which had been devastated by the war gradually became apparent to the people of the North. It constituted the perplexing problem of Reconstruction.

It is easy, looking back, to see that the men of that generation blundered egregiously, and brought upon the country, especially the South, and most of all upon the Negro race, tragic disaster by their blunder-

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ing. But it is not so easy, even in the light of that experience, to see what they should have done. To build in a generation a new democratic civilization on the ruins of a feudalism overthrown, with only the impoverished lands and the ignorant serfs as material, is a problem almost impossible of achievement. A statement of some of the elements of this complex problem may at least serve to make its difficulty apparent.

What should the victorious North do with the vanquished States? Should it regard them as conquered territory to be held under martial law until their conqueror had decided what to do with them? and was their fate wholly in the power of the victor, a power to be exercised justly, perhaps generously, but without any responsibility to the wishes of the conquered? Or were those States still parts of the Union, which had by their rebellion abandoned their Statehood and lapsed into Territories, and were they to be treated by Congress as Territories are treated, provided with a Territorial government, and held in pupilage until they had proved their capacity for self-government in a free commonwealth? Or were they indestructible States in an indissoluble Union? Were the Confederate armies to be regarded simply as an organized mob, and, the mob having been put down and a republican form of government having been re-established, were the seceding States to resume their place in the Union under the Constitution, with all the Constitutional rights and prerogatives of States?

Who was to undertake this work of reconstruction? Was it an executive function to be exercised by the President of the United States? Was he to determine by his authority, as Commander-in-Chief of the United States, in what sections martial law might be abandoned and civil law re-established, and, by his pardoning power, who of those lately in arms against the United States might resume the rights and prerogatives of citizenship? Or was the work of reconstruction a Congressional function, and was Congress to determine, as it would in the case of conquered territory, on what terms the States might come back into the Union from which they had attempted to secede?

What should be done with the Negroes? The Emancipation Proclamation had relieved them from all duty of service to their masters; but it had also relieved the masters from all duty of providing for and protecting their slaves. By a stroke of the pen four million slaves had been transformed into four million vagrants and paupers. Under the existing laws of the various States they could not own a rod of land, or a house, or personal property of any description. They did not legally own the clothes they wore or the shacks they might have constructed. They could not vote, nor hold office, nor sit on juries, nor testify in court, nor practice as lawyers or as physicians. They were not legally married, and their children were not legitimate nor legally subject to parental authority.

Who should solve this problem? The States? Surely, said the South; in the State the Negro must live, in the State ply his industry; there he would be surrounded by his old masters, who had been his caretakers, understood his character, knew how to deal with him, and felt a real affection for him. Surely *not*, replied the North. To hand him over to the States was to hand him over to the very community which for four years had been fighting a bloody war for no other purpose than to enslave him. What they would do with him if they had the power was apparent from what in some States they had attempted to do. It is not strange that Southern men, who had never seen the Negro work except under compulsion, thought he never would work except under compulsion, and for the authority of the master over the slave he owned attempted to substitute, in a system of serfdom, the authority of the State exercised through their late masters over the freedmen. Should the Federal Government undertake the care of the Negro? That meant that Congress should undertake it. And Congress was composed almost exclusively of Northern men, who did not understand the Negro, never had lived among the Negroes, had no real affection for the Negro, and could not understand his temperament, his ignorance, his superstition, his shiftless habits, his animal passions, his disregard of property rights. Grant that these characteristics were relics of slavery; still, it would require time, patience, and intimacy of acquainance to emancipate him from them. If, then, neither the State nor the Nation could be trusted to take care of the Negro, why not trust him to take care of himself? Enfranchise him; give him the ballot, and with it all the rights and privileges and prerogatives of citizenship. Apply the principle of the Homestead Act. Use the

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abandoned lands in the South, and, if necessary, confiscate the lands of the rebels, and give each Negro a lot for cultivation—forty acres, was proposed. What if the South objected to Negro suffrage? It would be a just punishment. But the South would not long object. In a few years—five at the most, said Charles Sumner—the South would conquer its prejudice sufficiently to allow the late slaves to be their equals at the polls. Sumner was better acquainted with political theories than with human nature. This, however, was the course finally adopted. The political power in the reconstructed States was given to all loyal citizens, white or black, ignorant or educated. The results proved that the ballot in the hands of ignorance is as effective an instrument for self-destruction as for self-protection. I agree with Professor Burgess that "it was a great wrong to civilization to put the white man of the South under the domination of the Negro race."[1] But the alternative propositions were also full of peril.

The reader must not think that these theories were as clearly defined as I have defined them here. Public opinion at the North was a swirl of contradictory opinions. Members of the same political party held opposite opinions, and the same man often held half a dozen opinions in as many weeks. Andrew Johnson, who as President became a bitter opponent of Negro suffrage, was reported on May 12, 1865, as in favor of it. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, was an ardent advocate of Negro suffrage; Governor Andrews, of the same State, opposed it. It was a time of chaos. There was nothing in the written Constitution or in the traditions of the Nation to govern, and little in either to guide. History furnished no precedents. Except to the doctrinaire, there was no great political or moral principle on which the voter could take his stand, sure that it was right, and therefore sure that it was wise. Probably an overwhelming majority of the people of the North gave little thought to the problem. The tense emotion aroused by the war was followed by a reaction. The war had succeeded, the Union was saved, slavery was abolished; why worry?

This brief summary of conditions is necessary to make clear to the reader the nature and reasons of the change in my work which this chapter is to describe.

[1] "Reconstruction and the Constitution," by John W. Burgess, p. 133.

The October number of the "New Englander," a monthly review published at New Haven, contained an article from my pen on reconstruction. It was one of hundreds of articles, speeches, and sermons on this topic uttered throughout the North, but it was among the first of them. At the time the article was written the country was just recovering from the most discouraging period in the war. Washington had been in serious danger from an invading force under General Early. Sheridan had been put in command of the troops in the Shenandoah Valley just in time to recover the ground lost by previous defeats. The armies of Hood and Thomas were confronting each other in Tennessee, and the battle of Nashville had not yet been fought. General Sherman had occupied Atlanta, but had not yet commenced his famous march to the sea. Volunteering for the army had ceased and a draft had been ordered. Gold had reached 2.85, the highest price at any time during the war. At the request of Congress, the 1st of August had been appointed by the President and observed by the people as a day of National humiliation and prayer. Horace Greeley, acting for the discouraged and disheartened in the Republican party, had initiated his futile negotiations for peace with representatives of the Confederacy. The Democratic party had declared the war a failure, and the country was in the throes of a hotly contested election to determine whether it would indorse the statement of Abraham Lincoln that no proposition for peace would be considered which did not embrace the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery, or would sue for peace with a Confederacy whose President had declared that the war "must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks and his children seize his musket and fight a battle, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government." My essay on the reconstruction needed, published a month before the Presidential election of 1864, has historical significance only as it indicates the spirit of the dominant section of the Republican party; it has personal significance because it led to a change in my life as great as that made five years before when I left the law for the ministry. This justifies, if it does not necessitate, giving here a fairly full abstract of this essay. I wrote:

At the commencement of this war we were often sneeringly asked the question, Sup-

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pose you conquer the South, what are you going to do with it? This question, impertinent then, has now become pertinent. A considerable part of the South is conquered. The Federal flag floats in triumph over the principal parts of Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana. What are we going to do with the conquered territory?

To conquer alone is not enough. It is impossible to make the President a permanent autocrat of the subjugated territory. Where the Confederate authority has been destroyed the Federal authority must be restored in its *legitimate* and *constitutional* forms. Destruction must be followed by reconstruction. Unless liberty is framed into permanent institutions the victory of liberty is vain. This truth is proved by the results of the Revolution in France and of the Cromwellian Revolution in England. The American Revolution might have ended, as did the French, in anarchy but for the wise statesmanship which united the colonies in a strong, central, and free government.

Victory in battle is simply *preparation* for the Nation's work. We must occupy the South not only by bayonets but also by ideas. We must not only destroy slavery, we must also organize freedom.

Two conditions are absolutely essential to the perpetuity of the Republic: popular intelligence and popular morality. Hence two institutions are essential: common schools and Christian churches. "Free institutions without general intelligence can exist only in name. There is no despotism so cruel and remorseless as that of an unreasonable mob. Men who do not know how to govern themselves cannot know how to govern a great country. The ignorance of the masses and the consequent political power of the few made this rebellion possible. The power has been taken from the few, it remains to give knowledge to the masses. But knowledge alone is not enough. For while intelligence tends to make *men* free, it does not suffice to constitute a free *State*. And it is not enough to emancipate individuals from iniquitous thraldom. That liberty may be permanent, it must be organic. Heads, legs, arms, trunks, gathered in an indiscriminate pile, cannot make a man. They must be united by sinews and ligaments, inspired with life, and governed by one dominant head. So a mass of individuals, however free, gathered together do not constitute a free Republic. Individualism is the characteristic of simple barbarism, not of republican civilization."

How to harmonize individual liberty with the cohesion necessary to secure the preservation of the State is the problem of republicanism. To solve this problem, to constitute a free State, three conditions are necessary. Its citizens must love liberty for themselves. They must know how to submit; for reasonable subordination is essential to organized liberty. And they must know how to cooperate with others; for fraternity is as essential to free institutions as liberty and equality. Thus to constitute permanently a free State men must be taught not only their rights but also their duties. To establish liberty it is not enough to strike asunder with the sword the chains which bind men; they must be bound together by the bonds of duty and of affection. Thus the principles of religion underlie republicanism. Religion teaches man that he is a son of God, and thus makes him unwilling to be the slave of man; teaches him submission to the authority of God, and so renders submission to his earthly superior more easy for him; inspires him with affection for his fellow-men, and so makes co-operation with them in government possible.

History attests the truths of this principle. Religious liberty has preceded civil liberty. To establish the safety of the Republic in the South we must organize in the South free schools and free churches. The South now possesses neither. In colonial days the Governor of Connecticut, in answer to questions of the English Government, reported that one-fourth of her income was expended in public schools. The Governor of Virginia replied: "I thank God that there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." As a result, in 1860 three-fourths of the children of Connecticut were attending public schools, while nine-tenths of the children of Virginia were growing up in ignorance. The Census does not show the same disparity in the number of the churches, for the Negroes are naturally religious. But statistics of church property show that Connecticut, with less than half the population of Virginia, has invested in churches nearly three-quarters of a million more. Moreover, in many Southern communities churches flourishing before the war exist no longer. Church organizations are disbanded, congregations are scattered, church edifices are closed or temporarily

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converted into hospitals, barracks, and Negro schools.

Three elements of population in this territory call for aid from the North. An immense Negro population without education cannot know how to use freedom. The poor whites must have free schools and a free Gospel, or the political liberty which they have received will prove only less disastrous than has their political servitude. "To give political power to the ignorant, without also affording them education, is to put the helm of the ship of state in the hands of those who will surely run it on the rocks." Northern immigrants will stand in no less need of educational and religious institutions. "We have need to beware lest the devil, having been cast out of the South, and the territory been swept and garnished, he go and get seven other devils and return, and the last state of that country prove worse than the first."

"While society is fermenting, and institutions are being established, and public opinion is forming, and government is in process of organization, is the time to impress upon this new organization its permanent character. While nature was in chaos God fashioned and formed it as it is. While the metal is molten is the time to stamp and mold it." The free polity of the Congregationalists affords some peculiar advantages for this work. For, while the South would give but a surly welcome to Yankee missionaries coming with advertised purpose to plant Yankee churches, it will not refuse the assistance of Northern capital, and even of Northern ministers who shall proffer to the people aid in organizing their own churches upon the broad and catholic basis of a common evangelical faith.

I have given this essay at some length because it states not only the principles upon which, and the spirit in which, I believed the work of Reconstruction should be undertaken and carried on, but not less the principles and the spirit which I still believe are essential to all political and social reform. Two of these principles I restate, because they are as applicable to the problems of this beginning of the twentieth century as to those of the middle of the nineteenth century:

Men who do not know how to govern themselves cannot know how to govern a great country.

Individualism is the characteristic of simple barbarism, not of republican civilization.

The first principle should determine the conditions of suffrage both in America and in her dependencies. The second principle should determine the purpose and direction of all social reform.

Four months before this essay was published, and probably one or two months before it was written, two Congregational clergymen, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of New York, and Dr. William I. Budington, of Brooklyn, had visited Tennessee as delegates of the Christian Commission. Impressed by the desolate condition of the country, they had returned to the East and organized a Union Commission to co-operate with the Government in the work of reconstruction, as the Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission had been organized to co-operate with the army in the prosecution of the war. This Union Commission at once began its philanthropic work, which at first consisted chiefly in providing for the immediate physical necessities of the homeless and starving freedmen and refugees. By January, 1865, the work had grown to such dimensions as to require a paid executive head, and the support furnished to it by the philanthropic citizens of the North was such as to justify the appointment of one. On the 1st of February my brother Austin wrote me from New York telling me of this Commission and sounding me as to my willingness to accept an election. Partly to become acquainted with the Commission and its work, partly to attend the wedding of my younger brother, Edward, which was to take place on the 14th of that month, I went to New York. On my arrival there I found that the Commission had already elected me its Corresponding Secretary. With a letter notifying me of my election came a letter from its President urging my acceptance of the office and defining in a paragraph the purpose and spirit of the organization. Dr. Thompson wrote:

"New York, 22 February, 1865.

"You have already been officially advised of your appointment as Corresponding Secretary of the American Union Commission. This appointment was made without consultation with you, or any intimation of your views and feelings in regard to the Commission and its work. It was prompted by our general knowledge of your qualifications for the important and responsible work which this Commission contemplates, and by the

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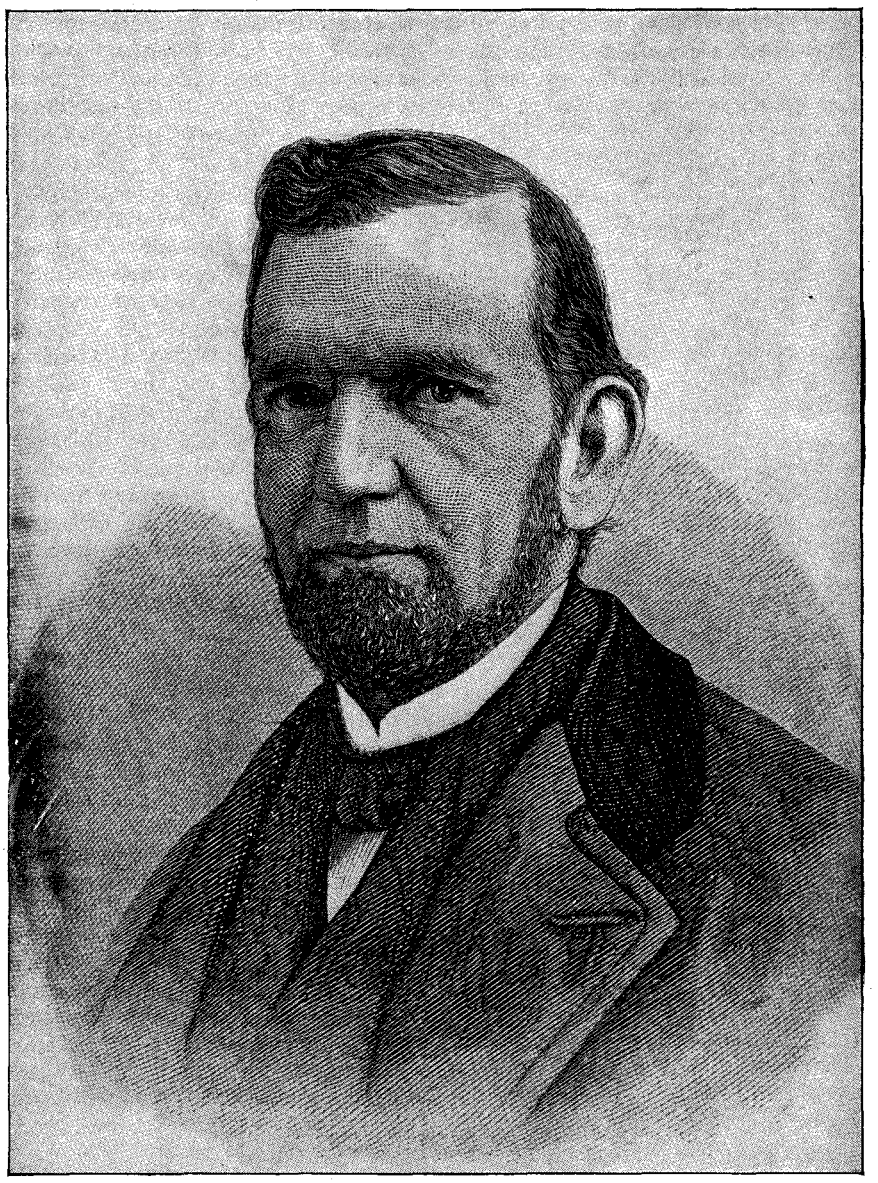

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THE REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON

One of the organizers of the Union Commission formed to co-operate with the Government in the work of reconstruction. Dr. Thompson was well known as the pastor for many years of the Broadway Tabernacle, of New York City. He was born at Philadelphia in 1819, was pastor of the Tabernacle 1845-1871, and died in Berlin in 1879. See page 712

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tone and spirit of your article on 'Southern Evangelization,' published in the 'New Englander.'

"I am loth, at any time, to disturb a pastor in his relations to his church, and particularly when one is so useful, so happy, and so beloved as I know you are in your present charge. But these are times in which our country in its broader interests has claims upon us superior to those of any local field. The work to which you are invited is the practical application of Christianity to the reorganization of society at the South. Beginning with the relief of suffering among the refugees and the restoration of industry in those regions where a loyal and brave people have been made homeless and destitute by the war, we purpose by degrees to further a healthy emigration Southward, to encourage a system of popular education in the States once blighted with the curse of slavery, and to promote the restoration of their social condition, upon the enduring basis of freedom and of Christian morality.

"This work is one that must largely engage the Christian patriotism and philanthropy of the Nation for a generation to come; and he who shall give it shape and practical efficiency will fulfill a ministry more important than that of any pastorate in the land.

"I cannot doubt that your own enlightened and patriotic people, on being made acquainted with the bearings of this work upon the future of the Nation, will consent to relinquish you for this service to the country, and will find their reward in the cause for which they make the sacrifice of present interests and affections.

"Trusting that the great Master and Bishop of us all will guide and bless both you and them, I am

"Your fellow-laborer for Christ and our country, "JOSEPH P. THOMPSON,
"Pres. Am. Un. Commission."

The reader may remember that in 1857–8 I had hesitated between entering the ministry and entering public life. I wished to have some part in dealing with the moral problems which confronted the country, and either ministry or politics afforded a better opportunity for dealing with them than the law. This invitation to become the administrative head of the American Union Commission seemed to me to offer a rare opportunity to take some part both in an individual and a social gospel. It appealed to my imagination and to my ambition. I found it also appealed to the soberer judgment of both of my older brothers and of my father. My brother Austin had written me: "Father expressed better than I could myself my idea when he said that it seemed to him a work which would give scope for the highest qualities of statesmanship for twenty-five years to come." And my brother added: "It seemed to me that the position would be, as compared with that of a pastor, something like that of a general compared to that of a private." My brother Vaughan was of the same opinion. An immediate decision was imperative. The work could not be left to go on undirected while I waited. After a week's delay I accepted the call and went back to Terre Haute to hand in my resignation and prepare to return to the East. If I had not done so, I doubt whether I should have had the courage to resign. For when the resignation came, Mr. Ryce told me that, if I would reconsider the question, he would ring the Court-House bell and call a town meeting to protest against my going. And I do not doubt that he would have done so.

Truly, love is the greatest thing in the world. It is nearly half a century since I bade my friends in Terre Haute good-by. And I can even now lean back in my chair and call those dear friends before me. Then I was sometimes impatient with them; now I wonder that they were so patient with me. I was a Yankee; and there were only two Yankee families in my congregation. I had a New England conscience; and I was pastor of a church equipped with the Southern conscience. I was a progressive; and I was leader of a church all of whose ideas and ideals on public questions were those of a conservative community. I was no orator; and I followed one who had been deemed in the State second in oratory only to Henry Ward Beecher. I was young, inexperienced, enthusiastic; and I was made leader of a church which had spent its whole lifetime under one pastor, whose confidence and support I had been unable to secure. Neither time, distance, nor deaths have sundered me from my friends of fifty years ago. For over fifteen years my wife exchanged Christmas gifts with some of her Terre Haute friends every year and with other friends less frequently. Correspondence was kept up with them until one after another had departed into the silent land. As long as I live Terre Haute will be to me a sacred city—sacred

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with undimmed memories and undying friendships.

On Sunday morning, February 27, I announced my resignation to my congregation and stated the reasons which led to it, but postponed a farewell sermon until a later date. For it was desirable for me to know directly the field in which I was to work and to see something of the people to whom my service was to be rendered. Except for my trip to Georgia in 1856 and one brief trip to Kentucky to present a National flag to a Federal regiment, I had never visited the South. Therefore, before leaving for the East to take up my new work, I made a flying visit to Tennessee. What I saw there I can best tell my readers by quotations from letters which I sent almost daily to my wife:

"Nashville, Tennessee,
"29 March, 1865. Wednesday morn.

"In order to go to Nashville one must have a pass. And in order to put travelers to the greatest possible amount of inconvenience they do not allow them to be granted in Louisville. We must telegraph to Nashville, and wait for a reply before we can leave. But W—— has already secured a pass by telegraph from Cincinnati. He bids us good-by and starts away in the seven o'clock morning train. We are to meet at the Commercial House, in Nashville. W—— has with him a Miss B——, teacher. We all go in to breakfast together. Then for the telegraph office. A placard hung against the glass door says 'Office closed.' A young man sits tantalizingly near the window. In answer to our inquiries he calls through the window that the office does not open till eight o'clock. . . . I hunt up the Sanitary Store rooms. Nobody there but a burly Irishman sweeping out. Clerk will be down about eight o'clock. He can tell me where to find Mr. H——. Back to telegraph office, where I wait till half-past eight; no W—— appears. Then I send my request for a pass, receiving from the clerk the cheering intelligence that it is doubtful whether I can get a reply in time for to-day's train, which leaves at one o'clock. Probably must spend the night on expense at Louisville, and travel all the precious hours of Wednesday. Humbug! However, no help for it. Back to Sanitary rooms, and thence to Rev. Mr. H——'s, who receives me cordially, and after half an hour's talk proposes adjournment to military headquarters, where he is to meet some of the gentlemen of his commission. This is a Louisville Refugee Commission. It is not directly connected with ours, though I hope it will become so. Mr. H——, its President, is the Unitarian clergyman of the city.

"We go up to General Palmer's headquarters, who is in command of Kentucky. Arrangements are in progress by which Government builds a home for the refugees, which is placed under the care of this Commission. I am introduced to General Palmer; at the close of the interview tell him my business and ask if in any way I can get to Nashville without waiting for a pass. He replies that he has no strict authority to grant them, but does sometimes in special cases; and gives me one. So I am all right. Through Mr. H—— and Mr. T——, chief clerk of Sanitary Commission, whom I find to be an old Brooklyn friend of mine, I get a free pass on the railroad, bid Louisville friends good-by, and make my way to the depot.

"There are soldiers at every door of every car. I must carry my bag to the baggage car to be marked, examined if they please, and I must show my railroad military pass before I can enter. Soldier scrutinizes military pass, doubts it, and hands it to a lieutenant, in uniform, standing near. This is the military conductor. Every train has its military conductor, in command of the guard, one of whose duties it is to pass through the train and take up military passes, and put out those who have none. It won't do, he says. He is very short, as military men are wont to be. I argue. No use. Yes, it is some use. 'You can telegraph,' says he, 'for a pass and ask them to send it to Bowling Green. If it comes, all right. If not, you will have to get off. You cannot go into Tennessee on that pass.' Very good. Will he telegraph for me? Yes, he will. There is no time now. But he will telegraph from the first station. So I get into the car, in some disagreeable uncertainty whether I am going to Nashville on business, or to Bowling Green, Kentucky, on a pleasure trip. I succeed, however, in sedulously cultivating the gentleman's acquaintance. He becomes more amicable. We sit together for some time on the train. He sends the telegram. And when we get out to supper at Cave City (a magnificent metropolis of half a score of houses and four or five score of people, taking its name from its proximity to Mammoth Cave) he brings me the reply—a pass in due form. Total

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expense of telegraphic operations all told, at Louisville and on the train, is $3.50.

"As we leave Cave City I begin to realize we are in a guerrilla country. Every time the train stops passengers listen attentively for firing and ask anxiously, 'What now?' One military gentleman gets out ostentatiously a very large pistol. Military conductor tells me that the place for guerrillas is ten to twenty miles north of Bowling Green. A soldier of the guard, who heard my name called, sits down by my side, asks if I have relatives in Minnesota, and we open conversation. He gives me a story of some interesting guerrilla adventures. It is growing quite dark now. And he says the guerrillas attack only the night trains—men ought not to travel with much money, and there are said to be a band of 100 just below here—we have a guard of 30 armed—and much more equally interesting. I am not much alarmed. Except for the delay, a guerrilla adventure would not trouble me much. However, I put the bulk of my money in my pantaloons watch pocket, devise a scheme for hiding my watch, then pillow my head on my coat and go to sleep. No guerrilla disturbs my peace, or even troubles my dreams.

"We are due in Nashville at one o'clock. A freight train off the track delays us. We do not arrive till four. Walk up to the Commercial House. S—— not there. On to the St. Cloud. Not there. Too early to do anything. Too late to go to bed. But I have fallen in with a commercial traveler from Cincinnati. He is going to a private boarding-house as soon as it is fairly light. The hotels are unpromising. So I go with him. And at Mrs. B——'s house, on Cherry Street, I am writing this letter while I wait for breakfast. If you could see the room, I am afraid you would have convulsions. There are two or three beds in the hall, three double beds and a cot in this room. Of course no privacy. Board $3 a day. I hope some gentleman of the Commission will take pity on and rescue me. . . .

"Slavery is dying fast in Kentucky. I do not think I saw ten Negro men between Louisville and Bowling Green not in soldier's uniform, nor five including those in Louisville, if I except waiters at the hotel."

"Clarksville, Tennessee, 30th March, 1865.

"I believe I left myself just going down to breakfast. Fortunately I found the breakfast better than the lodging. Got a very good meal, for which I subsequently paid 75 cents. Then out for business. Without much difficulty found the Sanitary rooms, and Judge R——, the agent, who is also our representative at Nashville. Originally from Wisconsin, and a very pleasant and excellent man, as I judge. The refugee work sadly needs organization.

"Under a military order Colonel D——, a Methodist preacher formerly, is appointed superintendent of the refugees. He has two large buildings—one a home, the other a hospital.

"In these buildings are an average of 400 to 500. They are continually coming in for help, from 100 to 200 weekly. And as continually he ships them North. The Government furnishes transportation and gives them food. He also distributes rations to 1,700 or 1,800 refugees scattered throughout Nashville; while the city is crowded with 3,000 or 4,000 of these suffering people, only the most destitute of whom the Government relieves. There is a useless kind of school in one of the homes. And some of the ladies have procured and distributed a good deal of clothing. . . .

"After dinner went up to St. Cloud, was introduced to Governor Brownlow and several leading members of the Legislature, and went up with them to the Governor's room. In private intercourse he is a very quiet, gentlemanly man, with an inexpressibly sad cast of countenance; no trace of the fierceness of his public speeches. Our interview was very pleasant and very gratifying. I think the Legislature will be all ready to accept our co-operation in the matter of education.

"There are now no public schools in Nashville; no really good private schools. The buildings are occupied by the military. The same is true at Knoxville. The State has no money to establish them. And all her energies must be at first devoted to paying debts and organizing the State machinery. Of course nothing definite was arranged. But I suggested that we would commission and pay some one to act in co-operation with the State as *quasi* Superintendent of Public Instruction—a suggestion which they seemed to like. Also that I should like to be in correspondence with their Committee on Education. And they suggested that I come to Nashville, after an organization has been perfected, and meet with the Committee, and also deliver an address in the House of Representatives, which I said I should be glad

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to do on receiving an invitation. I think the foundation has been laid for effective, useful work in Tennessee by this visit.

"I cannot find that there is a single radical, progressive, live minister in Nashville. I strongly incline to favor commissioning one as chaplain nominally to refugees, really to organize and build up a liberty-loving, progressive church. Also I favor opening a first-class school in Nashville. Connected with it might be a Sunday-school. Out of the Sunday-school might grow a church.

"When can I leave Nashville? Tramped half a mile through intolerable mud to the river. Boat leaves in an hour for Clarksville. Next one to-morrow night. Tramped back half a mile to 'Home,' got letters to Nashville, and transportation from Colonel D——. Tramped a long mile, through mud intolerable, to the boat, pulled off my wet boots, threw overboard my wet stockings, put on slippers, ate my supper, ascertained that the boat would not reach Clarksville before one o'clock A.M., got a berth (dared not undress, however), and went to bed—tired enough, I can assure you. Have not had my clothes off now for three nights, and done all my sleeping traveling fifteen or twenty miles an hour. Luckily for me, the night was dark, the boat laid up part of the night, and I did not reach here till this morning."

"Clarksville, Tennessee,
"Friday, 31 March, 1865.

"All that Government does at this post is to impress buildings, furnish rations and some materials for building partitions, etc., with furniture for the house and stores for the hospital. But the commander at Nashville lays a special tax on liquor, which yields a revenue of $2,000 a month, which is appropriated to the refugee work, and pays extras, teachers, clothing, etc. So this point is pretty well supplied and needs but little comparatively from us.

"After dinner Lieutenant C—— detailed a sergeant, who took me in an ambulance to the contraband camp, about a mile out of town. This operation is necessarily much larger. The Negroes can neither be shipped North nor scattered through the South. There are about 2,000 in camp under military law—Captain B—— commanding. He received me very kindly and showed me all over the camps. Limited as I was as to time, I had not much opportunity for talking with the Negroes. Two long sheds have been erected by the Negroes, something like soldiers' barracks, only much more rude. These are partitioned off into rooms. Each room contains six bunks or berths, one above the other. A chimney, built in the partition, affords a fireplace to each of two rooms. In these rooms live, somewhat promiscuously, men, women, and children; an arrangement not very conducive to health, comfort, or morals—but probably the best practicable. Very few of the rooms have any other floor than Mother Earth. Besides these family barracks are others, somewhat similar, for Negro soldiers. These homes are furnished with bedding and the Negroes with clothing by themselves, 'borrowed'—see Exodus—from their masters. For the universal testimony is that 'Negroes will steal.' 'The fact is,' said a slave-owner, member of the new Legislature, to me in Nashville, 'the Negroes thought, as we did not pay them anything, they had a right to help themselves. And they are about half right. The only trouble is they do not always adjust the account accurately.' One Negro girl came into this camp bringing pearls to the value of several hundred dollars. All such articles are returned to their masters when called for. At a little distance from these barracks is a Negro village. The Negroes that are able to procure the lumber are permitted to put up their own houses, with little garden lots about them. The best class of Negroes do this. Most of these, however, are the families of soldiers. Attached to the camp is a large field, which the commandant is putting under cultivation, largely to tobacco. Thus he will keep them at work and help support them. In a long, narrow building on a little knoll by itself is a school with three or four rooms. By the side of it is a rough one-story board house, where the teachers live. Four churches in and near the town are also used as school-rooms. There is a shoe manufactory where the Negroes, under the tuition of one of their number, are learning to make shoes. The commandant's wife is teaching the girls to sew. He wishes also to open a store, to prevent their suffering from dishonest traders in the village, and, in connection with it, to open a savings bank where they may deposit their earnings.

"Of course such an enterprise as this costs a great deal of money. The Government furnishes food and fuel. The Negroes cut their own lumber; it was sawed on shares; they built their own barracks, the United States

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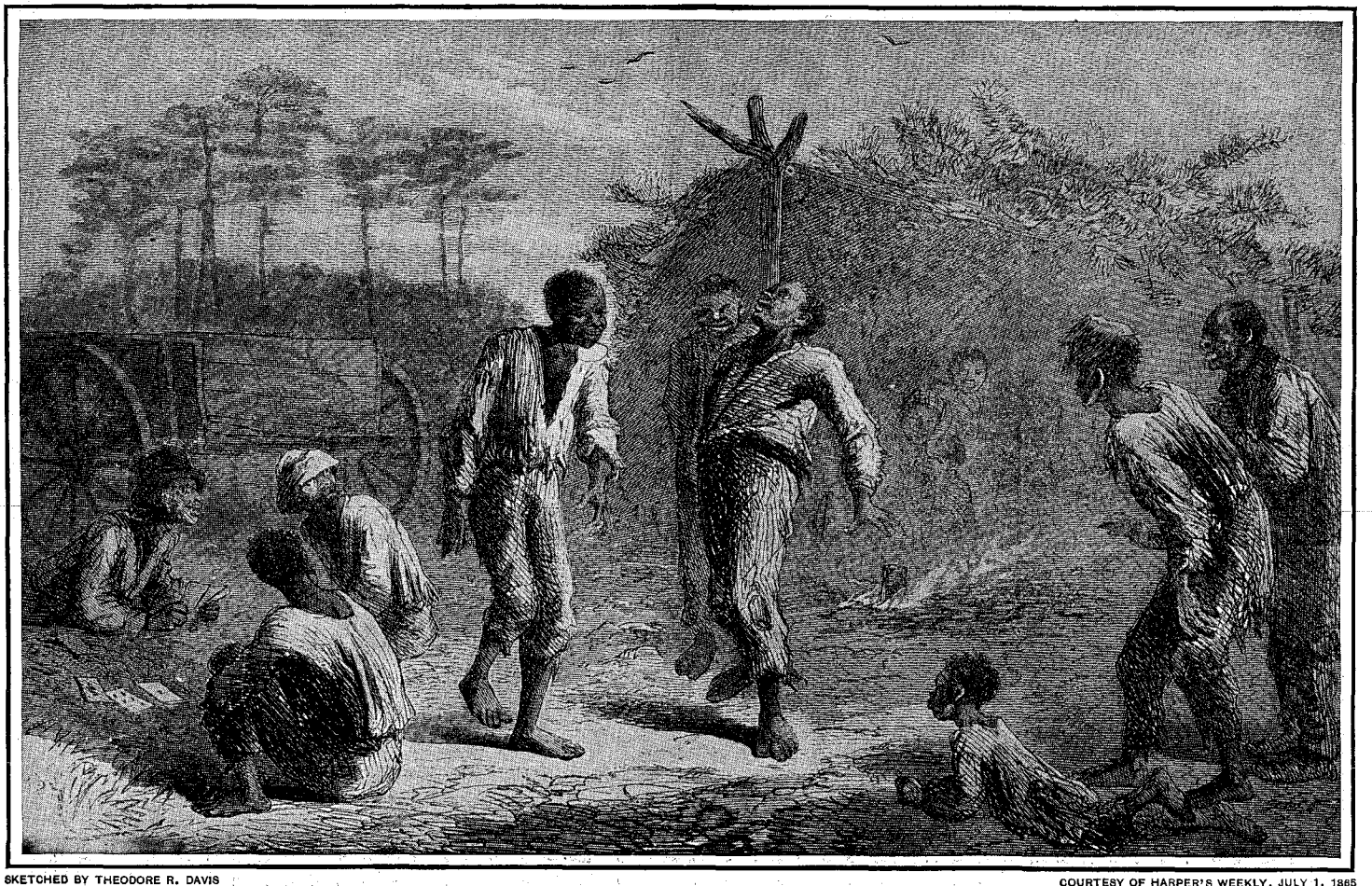

SKETCHED BY THEODORE R. DAVIS

COURTESY OF HARPER'S WEEKLY, JULY 1, 1865

A CAMP OF NEGRO REFUGEES

This is a contemporary picture of the sort of "Contraband Camp" [see page 717] described in this installment of Dr. Abbott's Reminiscences

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finding the nails. The extra expenses are borne by private benevolence. And here is the rub. There is no organ of a National and comprehensive character which provides it. No less than four Freedmen's Commissions are working here, without unity of plan or heartiness of co-operation. None can do much. Each is jealous of the other. The colonel wants leather for his shoe shop, materials for his sewing girls, clothing for the destitute. There is no one responsible party to whom he can apply. There are two Commissions in Cincinnati, three in Indiana, one in Chicago, one in New York, one in Philadelphia, one or two in Washington. They work without organization or co-operation. Indianapolis takes charge of the orphan asylum. Indianapolis and Plainfield both are engaged in the school. Both Boards at Cincinnati have agents or representatives here. And the Old School Presbyterian Board are going to send a chaplain. So far as I can learn, it is so all over the country—a disgrace to the friends of freedom and humanity. I think we shall prevent, by the perfection of our organization, a like disgraceful result in the case of the refugees. . . .

"I am very glad I have made this trip; not only on account of my future work, which it will enable me to perform much more effectively, but also on my own account. The country is beautiful. The trees are just putting on spring foliage. The fruit trees are all in blossom. The climate now is delightful. This town is especially pleasant after you get away from the business streets, which sadly need improving. I am doubly convinced of the importance of the South as a field for the Christian labor of Northern patriotism. In Clarksville there is neither a good school nor a loyal church. The old residents are, almost without exception, secessionists. Northerners do probably more than half the business. But they do not go to church anywhere. Whether they could be drawn into the right kind of church is perhaps uncertain. In Nashville there are two Northern loyal clergy. But their congregations are mostly soldiers. Northerners do not go to church. Southerners are rebels, and will not. One of the largest churches in Nashville (New School) contains a membership of thirteen. The rest have all left. I think no delusion is greater than to suppose that Northern emigration is going to save the South. It will not unless Northern piety outruns and outgenerals Northern cupidity. I am more than ever convinced that we must send our best and ablest men South. And I am inclined to think that Congregationalism, if the cause is wisely managed, will possess peculiar facilities in the work of evangelization. The military seize a church, put into the pulpit a minister against the will of the people, the people leave in disgust. But if a new man, of combined wisdom and courage, quietly supported from the North, should go to Nashville, establish a mission Sunday-school, gather by personal visitation the people into his church, leave them to manage their own affairs, he would not begin with armed prejudice against him; he could disarm much that might exist; and gradually a Congregational church would, not be formed, but grow—a truly people's church. But for such a work we must send South our best and ablest men."

This visit made clear to me, as these letters will make clear to my readers, the threefold task in which I had promised to engage. For success it was necessary:

To unite in one organization the various local and often conflicting societies, and to secure their adoption of the principle that distinctions of race, caste, and color should be disregarded. Freedmen's Societies by their very title emphasized the difference between the freedmen and the white refugees.

To stimulate the dormant and develop the growing good feeling in the North toward the people of the South, and to organize and direct it in wise channels, not merely for the relief of present distress, but for the civil and social reconstruction of the South on a basis of liberty and justice.

To secure the co-operation of the South in this undertaking; to find men who realized the need of a new South and who would welcome Northern allies in the endeavor to create it; and to work in fellowship with them. The war had merely destroyed the barrier between the North and South. The creation of a civil and social union of the States must be the work of peace.

The greatness of the undertaking did not appall me; it excited me. I have always found joy in tackling difficult tasks. I set about preparations for closing in Terre Haute one chapter of my life and opening another in New York. But I had been at home from my visit to Tennessee less than a

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fortnight when, like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky, came the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Generally half a century after a great disaster one can see some benefits which it has conferred upon mankind. The prophetic soul can even foresee them at the time as the Psalmist did:

"God is our help and strength,
A very present help in trouble.
Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved,
And though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea;
Though the waters thereof rage and swell,
Though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same,
The rivers of the flood thereof shall make glad the city of God;
The holy place of the tabernacle of the most Highest."

But, looking back over the intervening years, I confess myself unable to see any benefit to the people of the United States growing out of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It transformed the growing good feeling of the North into bitterness, revived the expiring sectional enmity, robbed the Nation of its leader, caused the work of political reconstruction to be carried on in the spirit of war, and set back, apparently, the progress of the Nation toward liberty and union at least a quarter of a century. There is an ancient Roman legend that a gap appeared in the capital city of the world which steadily widened and threatened to swallow up the city. The gods, consulted, said that it would close only when, in expiation for her sins, the city threw into the widening chasm her most precious possession; and Curtius, armed as for combat and mounted on a gayly caparisoned steed, rode into the chasm; it closed over him; and Rome was saved. Our most precious possession, an honest politician, was hurled into the closing chasm, and it gaped wide open at his fall.

One glimmer of light appears in the universal darkness. The slanders which had beset the patient, sad-faced leader were buried in his grave, and his reputation as the Nation's hero was established for all time. It is difficult for this generation, standing before his monument, to realize that in his life he was a mark for more poisoned arrows than were shot in the present era at either President Cleveland or President Roosevelt. By his death slander was struck dumb. Friend and foe united in paying honor to his memory. The most dramatic illustration of this change in popular sentiment was afforded by Tom Taylor's poem in the London "Punch." This once-famous poem is now forgotten; nor is it easily accessible to the men and women of this generation. For that reason, and because it interprets, better than many quotations could do, the sudden and complete revulsion in public feeling, I transfer it to my pages here:

"*You* lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please;

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for *you?*

Yes; he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen;
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learned to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true;
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble yet how hopeful he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,

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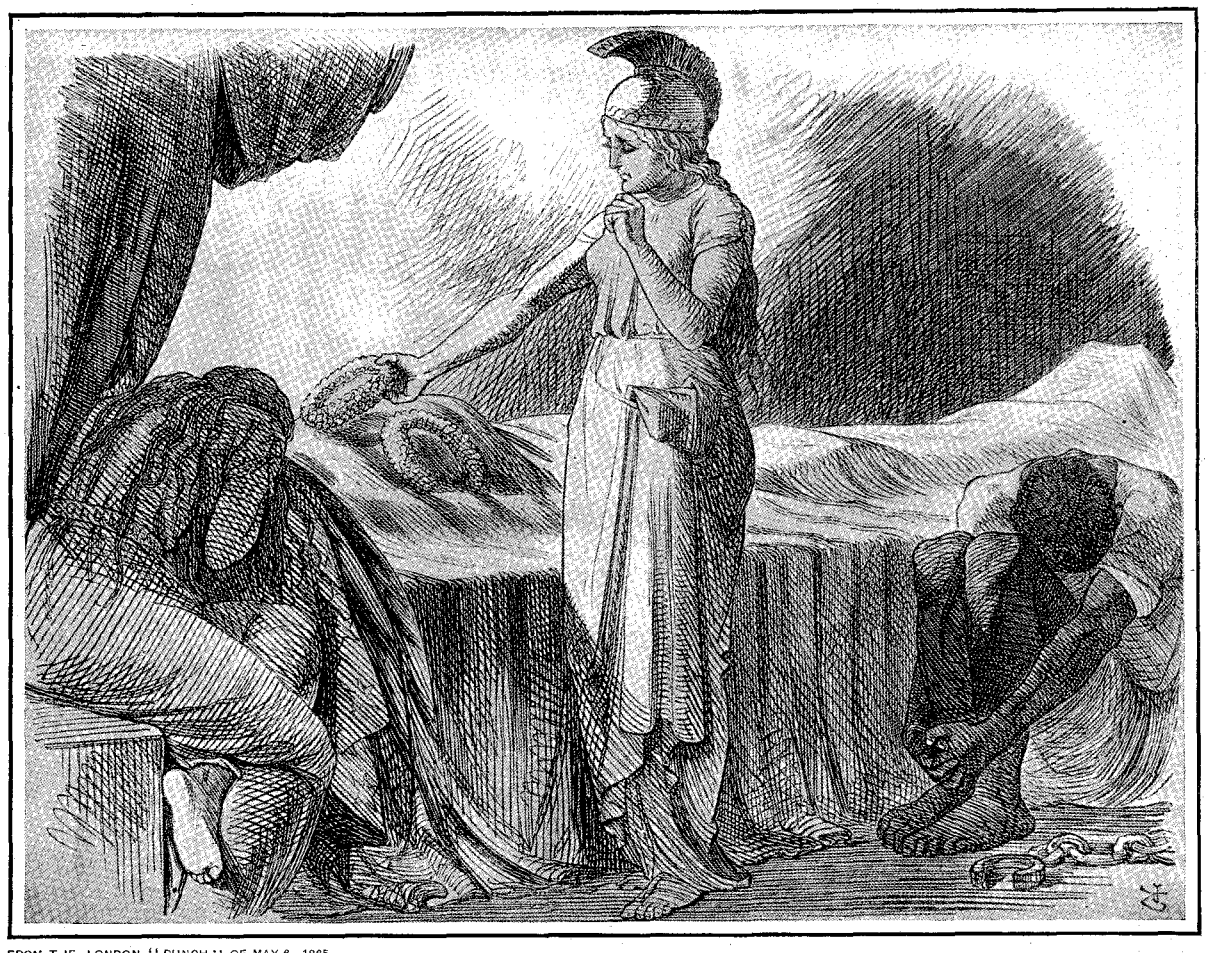

FROM THE LONDON "PUNCH" OF MAY 6, 1865

BRITANNIA SYMPATHIZES WITH COLUMBIA

A cartoon printed in "Punch" at the same time with the verses quoted on page 720

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If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights—

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's ax,
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear,—
Such were the deeds that helped his youth to train;
Rough culture, but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it; four long-suffering years'
Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood,—
Till, as he came on light from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest,
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest.

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame.
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came!

A deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out.

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven,
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much to praise, little to be forgiven."

The assassination of Abraham Lincoln was not, like the assassination of President Garfield and of President McKinley, the act of an individual crazed by his own fanaticism. A simultaneous attempt was made by Lewis Payson on the life of William H. Seward. The fact of a far-reaching conspiracy was subsequently established by a trial of the conspirators, four of whom were hanged and two sentenced to life imprisonment. How far it extended, who was concerned in it, no one knew. Suspicion is never restrained. Men prominent in the Confederacy fell for the moment under suspicion. Even so saturnine a leader as General Grant was not immune from the general epidemic; he telegraphed to Richmond to "arrest all paroled officers . . . unless they take the oath of allegiance." The Confederate States fell for the moment under the irrational wrath of the North. When was public wrath ever guided by reason? "Magnanimity," says Mr. Rhodes, "to the beaten foe was the sentiment of Monday; a cry for justice and vengeance, a demand that the leaders of the rebellion should be hanged, were heard everywhere on Saturday." On the morning of his assassination Abraham Lincoln had said, "No one need expect me to take any part in killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union." On the Sunday following the assassination President Johnson exclaimed, "I hold that robbery is a crime, rape is a crime, treason is a crime, and crime must be made infamous and traitors must be punished." Lincoln expressed the sentiment of the people before the assassination, Johnson their sentiment after it.

This passionate resentment might in time have been extinguished, but the political events which followed transformed it into a deliberate policy of hostility to the South.

Mr. Lincoln was a new type of statesman. Public men before his time had served the people; but he was a servant of the people. As the orator understands and by his speech interprets to his audience their unformulated thoughts, so Mr. Lincoln understood and by his acts interpreted to the people their unformulated will. And he at the same time and by the same process developed and organized their individual and unexpressed aspirations into a National purpose. In his election he saw the evidence that the people were weary of compromise

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with slavery, and in the critical months of Buchanan's timid and shifty policy he interposed a quiet but indomitable resistance to all the compromise measures proposed by some of his frightened followers. When the secessionists fired on the flag, he was quick to see that the issue was no longer the non-extension of slavery but the preservation of the Union, and in his famous letter to Horace Greeley in 1862 he expressed the purpose of the Nation: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do it." At the same time that sentence, "If I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it," prepared the conservatives for the Emancipation Proclamation when it came. The Nation emancipated the slaves. Lincoln held the pen; the people whom he had educated dictated the document.

He would have pursued the same cautious policy in dealing with reconstruction. I say he would have done so, because, in so far as he had the opportunity, this is what he did. He was essentially a pragmatist in politics, and tested all policies by the question, Will they succeed? He put his policy of reconstruction in a characteristic figure: "We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it." The radicals after his death tried smashing the egg, with disastrous results. A reconstruction bill of Congress, passed in the early summer of 1864, which assumed that the States had lost their Statehood by secession, he allowed to lapse without a veto by declining to sign it after Congress had adjourned. He privately declared that he considered "the discussion as to whether a State had been at any time out of the Union as vain and fruitless. We know they were, we know they shall be in the Union. It does not greatly matter whether in the meantime they shall be considered to have been in or out." He authorized the people of Louisiana to try their hand at reconstruction, and suggested that some of the colored people might be allowed to vote, "as, for instance, the very intelligent, and those who have fought gallantly in our ranks." At the same time he publicly declared that he was fully satisfied with the system of reconstruction outlined in the act of Congress as one proper for any State to adopt, if it wished to do so. The radicals attempted to go to the country on the issue thus raised, and nominated General Fremont as a radical Republican candidate for the Presidency, but got so little response from the people that the candidate withdrew and all Republican opposition to Mr. Lincoln was abandoned. These facts are sufficient to justify the historian in affirming that if Mr. Lincoln had lived he would have pursued a conciliatory policy toward the people of the South; he would have largely intrusted the reconstruction of the States to those who lived within them; he would have effectively used his influence for a gradual enfranchisement of the Negro race upon some such basis of property and educational qualifications as has now been adopted by several of the Southern States; and in this policy he would have had the support of the majority of the people of the North.

At his death a man of very different temperament succeeded to his office. It is not necessary for me to attempt any estimate of President Johnson's character. His warmest eulogist would not commend him as a peacemaker. He attempted to force his policies upon a hostile Congress. The result was four years of increasingly bitter political warfare: warfare between the President and Congress; between the South and the North; between the white race and the Negro race; culminating in the unsuccessful impeachment of the President by Congress, in the enactment of the unwise and unjust Force Bill, in the temporarily successful attempt to force universal suffrage on the Southern States, in the finally successful attempt of the Southern States to recover political domination for the white race by revolutionary methods, and in a consequent period of civil and industrial disorder in the South popularly known as the "Reconstruction Period," which some Southerners believe inflicted on the States a greater injury than was inflicted by the Civil War.

It was during these four years of political anarchy, from 1865 to 1869, that I was endeavoring to promote by measures wholly pacific a work of moral reconstruction in the South. Whether any one could have succeeded I do not know. It required both greater resources and greater abilities than I possessed to win the success I had hoped for. What share I had in this work, what principles I adopted, what difficulties I encountered, and what my associates and I accomplished will be shown in the next chapter.

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THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE WAR

X. HOUSE OF SAVOY AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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WORLD Empire. "All roads lead to Rome" nowadays as they have led for two thousand years. Whether your interest is language, law, art, literature, or religion; whether you travel by the Via Appia or by Andrews and Stoddard's "Latin Grammar;" whether you read the Westminster Catechism or the Code Napoleon, you get back to Italy at last. Every country in Europe, and every country which is infused by European culture, looks for source and inspiration to the mighty Roman Republic and the prodigious Roman Empire. The task of the Romans was to bring about unity of government, language, art, and religion among a multitude of nations. The Roman Empire stretched from Persia to Scotland. The Roman Church is still a world church. The Romans are still building our bridges and capitols, measuring our highways with their *mille passuum*, their "thousand paces;" affecting our laws; filling our languages with roots and phrases.

The Roman idea of world domination, of one central nation which should shed civilization and military power all around its edges and thence to the uttermost isles of the sea, has inspired many conquerors, from Charlemagne to Napoleon, and is an immense influence in the present European war. Yet in this strife for mastery of other people the immediate descendants of the Romans are passive. Those masterful Roman ideas have for ages played a small part in the peninsula which was once an enlarged city of Rome. The Kingdom of Italy doubtless desires expansion, but dreams not of empire over her great neighbors. Italy is still the geographical center of the Mediterranean world, from whose ports radiate great lines of commerce to Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. But the nation has been satisfied to collect the fragments of the old Roman dominions in Italy, and to weld them again into one of the half-dozen Latin states in Europe.

Even this task has been accomplished by a royal house which originated outside of Italy, with the aid of a French Emperor, and in the teeth of the opposition of the Italian Popes. The story of that drawing together of scattered units into a nation which in population, intellectual force, and wealth counts one among the nine world Powers is full of romance and of suggestiveness.

Italy as a Geographic Expression. Italy, after the fall of the Roman Empire, became a favorite battleground for foreign armies. Goths, Byzantines, Normans, Lombards, Saracens, Germans, Frenchmen, and Spaniards crossed it, plundered it, and carved states out of it. When the foreigner was quiet, the Italians attacked each other. In the Renaissance Italians read the same books, admired the same works of art, and dreamed the same dreams of a revival of Italian greatness; but they simply fought each other the harder. Dante mourned over the desolation and rivalries of his country; Michael Angelo vainly tried to protect his beloved city of Florence against a Florentine despot. The only permanent kingdom in Italy was the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples, held by a Spanish family. The city republics fell under despots who tried to found little dynasties. The Pope gave no aid, for inside of Italy he aimed to build up a kingdom for himself and his successors. The only great and notable Italian state was the commercial aristocracy of Venice, which kept up the traditions of Italy by fighting the Turk, and at the same time crushed such rivals as Genoa. That was the Italy upon which Metternich fixed the unforgetable phrase, "Italy is a geographical expression."

The House of Savoy. Little did Italy realize that its national champion was to come across the Alps, from the little state of Savoy, of which the capital was Chambéry; and the mausoleum of its princes is across the lake from Aix-les-Bains. In the interminable wars on that frontier there was a saying that, if the Dukes of Savoy at the end of a war were on the same side as at the beginning, it was because they had changed their alliances twice. For Savoy was a weak state living in the midst of the buffetings of strong neighbors. The Dukes of Savoy acquired territories beyond the Alpine

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divide, which came to be known as Piedmont, with a capital at Turin. In 1713 the Savoyards got Sicily, and seven years later exchanged that island for the far less valuable possession of the island of Sardinia; thenceforward for a century and a half they called themselves Kings of Sardinia.

Gradually they gained ground in northern Italy, pushed down to the borders of Milan, and became a significant Italian state. There is German blood in plenty in north Italy, and to-day in one of the far corners of the Alps may be found the valley of Gressonney, which is a commune of Italy, though the principal place-names are French and the inhabitants all speak German. The Piedmontese are a tough and hardy race, and during all the confusion about them they kept their independence. The list of rulers of the house of Savoy since they became kings shows the shocks and dangers to which they were exposed during the Napoleonic wars.

Victor Amadeus II (King of Sardinia, 1720)	1675–1730	
Charles Emmanuel III (son)	1730–1773	
Victor Amadeus III of Sardinia (son)	1773–1796	
Charles Emmanuel IV (son)	1796–1802	(abdicated in 1796, and again in 1802)
Victor Emmanuel I (brother)	1802–1820	(not restored until 1815)
Charles Felix (brother)	1820–1831	
Charles Albert (collateral)	1831–1849	(abdicated)
Victor Emmanuel II, first King of Italy (son)	1849–1878	
Humbert I of Italy (son)	1878–1900	(assassinated)
Victor Emmanuel III (son)	1900–	

The house of Savoy, like every other royal, ducal, and papal sovereignty in Italy, was overwhelmed by the typhoon of the French Revolution. Bonaparte blew into the country in 1796, and a year later there was no longer any Venice. In 1802 Piedmont was declared to be a part of France. The Kingdom of Italy was formed and Napoleon crowned himself, and eventually made his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy. Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, was made King of Naples. The rest of Italy, including the Papal States, became substantially a dependency of France.

Strife with Austria. Notwithstanding the weight of the French occupation, Italy was opened to modern ideas during the Napoleonic wars. Therefore throughout the peninsula there was bitter resentment at the settlement of 1815, when Italy was simply changed from one master to another. Austria received Lombardy and Venetia, and also the opposite coast of the Adriatic, in which there is a considerable Italian population. Naples went back to the former Bourbons, who were perhaps the most dissolute and despotic dynasty in all Europe. The Papal States were restored, and central Italy was broken up into little duchies, which were practically offshoots of Austrian power. The hopes of Italian freedom could not die out, and the leaven of the French Revolution was still working in Italy. A system of patriotic secret societies grew up, commonly called the *carbonari* (charcoal-burners), and for fifty years they agitated and from time to time raised revolutions.

Of all the Italian provinces Lombardy was the greatest sufferer under this system, for the people were industrious, and their educated leaders with all their might resented the reign of the "Tedesco," for to their minds all Austrians were Germans. Sardinia, as the next neighbor to Lombardy and as the only genuine Italian country in Italy, became the leader of the patriotic feeling of Italy and the nucleus of a national spirit; and Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, vainly attempted to stem the Austrian tide.

The Austrian policy was directed by Metternich, the quintessence of Austrian reaction, who did his best to put Europe back into the most stagnant part of the eighteenth century. In accordance with his ideas, Lombardy and Venetia were provided with a system of military courts holding secret trials and backed up by cruel punishments and a vile system of political spies and informers. The taxes were heavy, and part of them went to support the Government in Vienna. The troops raised in Italy were sent to other parts of the Austrian Empire, and the country was held down by soldiers drawn from across the mountains. While England, France, and the United States were developing a free and popular government, Italians, members of the race that once ruled the world, were kept in thraldom by a foreign military despotism.

In the revolution years of 1830–31 there was a rising in Piedmont which came to nothing in itself, but which prepared the

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way for one of the greatest Italians of the time. Metternich used to say that the thing that gave him most trouble in Italy was a little lean man named Joseph Mazzini. He was the organizer of a society and a propaganda which he called "Young Italy;" and his two great principles were a united Italy and an Italian republic. Among his adherents was Giuseppe Garibaldi. The agitation came to a head in the revolution of 1848, when in Naples, in Rome, and in north Italy constitutions were exacted. The revolution struck Vienna, and the Austrians were forced to give up Milan and Venice. Charles Albert was put at the head of the national movement. Then republics were proclaimed at Rome and at Florence. In the test of arms at Novara in March, 1849, Charles Albert was overwhelmingly beaten by the Austrians and was compelled to abdicate; and the French Republic sent a military force to restore the Pope to Rome.

Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. The new King, Victor Emmanuel, was only twenty-eight years old. His nickname of "Re Galantuomo" (Goodman King) points out his easy-going, familiar habits, which were combined with great strength of character. His Kingdom of Sardinia, which included that island and Piedmont, had but five million people. His army had just been beaten. The Austrians settled down again with their dead weight of oppression on Lombardy and Venetia. The new King soon placed beside him a power that proved to be worth as much to him as his Parliament and his people. This was Count Camillo di Cavour, born in Turin, in conditions singularly like those of his contemporary Count Bismarck. This little round-faced, chubby man, member of the minor nobility of Piedmont, without personal magnetism, not an orator, set himself to place Piedmont at the head of Italy.

The King, like King William I of Prussia with Bismarck a few years later, joined forces with Cavour, who became Prime Minister. The impulsive and self-indulgent sovereign knew how to work with the cool, calculating, and far-seeing statesman. Cavour saw the necessity of placing Piedmont before the eyes of Europe, and hence that little country joined with France and England in the war against Russia in 1854; and in the Congress of Paris which followed Cavour was a marked figure. However, neither Piedmont nor Italy could be free till the Austrians were driven out. Mazzini plotted, schemed, raised revolutions which were very unwelcome to Cavour, and did not shake the Austrian hold. In 1858 Napoleon III turned his mind to Italy, and Cavour with marvelous skill brought him to the point of joining with Sardinia.

At last Piedmont had found an ally. Together they made war against Austria in 1859; and in the battle of Solferino the Austrians were defeated, though not destroyed. At this critical moment Napoleon weakened and made the peace of Villafranca, by which Lombardy was given up but the Austrians kept Venetia. This was far from the result that Cavour had hoped, for Piedmont was not enlarged and central Italy was not set free. Cavour for a few months retired from office. So far as the world could see, Italy was little nearer union or national freedom. It was still "Italia Irridenta"—"Italy Unredeemed."

The United Kingdom of Italy. Once more in the history of the world principles were stronger than statesmen, and national hopes overcame armies. Though even the Italians were not aware of it, all Italy was honeycombed with a noble disloyalty to the powers that existed. The States of the Church were notably ill governed. The little principalities farther north were weak and petty. All Italy was at last willing to sink its own local independence in order to be a part of a glorious whole.

Where could be found a center for this national movement? Sardinia was the only strong and tough state in the peninsula, and by the treaty of Villafranca Lombardy was incorporated into Piedmont; but neither King Victor Emmanuel nor Cavour foresaw how the flame of national spirit was about to sweep through the whole land. Then suddenly, of their own motion, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, and the northern part of the Papal States enthusiastically annexed themselves to Piedmont. In vain did Pope Pius IX excommunicate Victor Emmanuel; the King replied that he "owed an accounting to God alone and to his own people." Thus, without striking a blow, northern and central Italy clave to each other. The States of the Church and the Two Sicilies, ruled by the successor of the infamous King Bomba, alone remained aloof.

Now arose the fourth of the great Italian heroes and leaders in unification, Giuseppe Garibaldi, the most individual and most romantic of all the Italians of his time. Mazzini

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was a burrower, a digger of mines, a lover of secret councils, always hoping for some grand explosion which would blow the tyrants to atoms and leave the patriots sound in wind and limb. Garibaldi was a great big boy, pleased with his red shirt, happy in the midst of his soldiers, yet what Mazzini had never been—a born leader of men. When the great conspirator in the crisis of 1860 could work out no successful plan for bringing in the Two Sicilies, it was Garibaldi who conceived the idea of landing down there a little force with or without the consent of the Piedmontese Government.

Crispi, later Prime Minister, helped to prepare the ground, and in May, 1860, Garibaldi's "Thousand" (really 1,150) set sail from Genoa, as the ships of Agamemnon departed from Aulis for the siege of Troy. In a few hours they landed in Sicily, and marched up to attack the city of Palermo, with its garrison of twenty thousand highly uniformed troops, as though they were hunting so many chamois. Never did comet flare through a more brilliant orbit across the sky than that described by Garibaldi's army through Sicily and then through Naples. Only the French garrison saved Rome. Except for the little Papal States and Venice, all Italy was at last gathered under the white cross on the red ground—the emblem of a united Italy.

The whole thing went so quickly that Europe had no opportunity to play its wonted part of forbidding people to achieve their own freedom. For a time the capital of the new Kingdom of Italy was fixed in Florence; but everybody knew that there was only one regal city. In 1866 Italy made common cause with Germany against Austria, and received Venice as a reward. In 1870, when Germany attacked the French, the garrison of Rome was needed at home; and the moment it was withdrawn the temporal power of the Pope disappeared. Rome became shortly the political, as it had been the religious, capital of Italy.

In this great world drama Victor Emmanuel was the sovereign, Mazzini the burning soul, Garibaldi the quintessence of the Italian people; but the mind, the heart, the genius of Italian unity was Count Cavour. He lived but a few months after the capture of Naples, but his work is impressed upon the present make-up of the Italian nation. Patient and forbearing alike with his King and the people, he was the one Italian statesman who understood the world in which he lived. He knew how to draw generosity out of Napoleon III, and enthusiasm from the English Minister, Lord Russell. Throughout the twelve years of his great public career he never lost sight of the ultimate end, which was to turn out the foreigner and bring in the spirit of Italian nationality.

Italy in World Politics. No such statesman as Cavour has again been granted to Italy; and no such King as Victor Emmanuel, whose lack of dignity and love of adventure made him all the better as the center of a great popular, national movement. He lived till 1878, when Italy had already become a significant power in Europe. His son Humbert reigned honorably twenty-two years, and sanctioned that understanding with Austria and Germany which is commonly called the Triple Alliance. The present King, Victor Emmanuel II (or III, if you count the Dukes of Savoy), resembles King George of England and Czar Nicholas of Russia in his strong patriotism and love of his people; but, like them, he is subject to the decisions of a Parliament and a Ministry.

Italy, like France, is weakened by the lack of two definite, clearly distinguished political parties; and, like France, somehow gets on and carries out a national policy without them. The only Prime Minister since Cavour who has been a part of the great movements and combinations of his time was Francisco Crispi. The minutes of his personal conversations with Bismarck, his contemporary and in some senses his rival, have recently been published in his "Memoirs;" and they sound like a friendly conversation between the Sphinx and Michael Angelo's statue of David. When Crispi asked what Bismarck thought of a suggestion for converting Alsace and Lorraine into a neutral state, the German answered, "The time for neutral states is past! You can see that in the case of Switzerland." Again Bismarck asks, "Are you still at loggerheads with the Turk?" Crispi—"He is a very beast! He does not know what he is about!" Bismarck—"That is true enough, and wild beasts must be tamed and not thrashed."

By chance it comes about that the subject of this concluding article on the "Roots of the European War" relates to Italy, the one great European nation which is still neutral. The roots of the struggle spread widely and penetrate deeply. Not for a hundred years

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has Europe been subjected to such terrific strains.

The articles aim at the personal side of the contest; bring into relief the leading men, and especially the rulers—whether monarchs or elected heads or parliamentary prime ministers. We Americans need to realize that the reigning houses in the great nations are part of the national make-up; that a Hohenzollern or a Romanoff is a link in a long historical chain; that the experiences of those royal houses are a part of the assets of their countries. A weak sovereign is strengthened by the glory of his ancestors—a glory taught to children in the schools. On the other hand, we see the reigning houses sometimes restrained, sometimes enhanced, by great ministers, whose successes are also a part of the national treasure-house. The memory and the ambitions of Bismarck, Cavour, and Gladstone are factors in the present war, because they helped to shape forces which are still working, long after they are dead.

The political system of the great European monarchies seems to us old-fashionod, outgrown, a dead weight; but to the nations concerned it is bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. They support William, and Francis Joseph, and Nicholas, and Mohammed the Insignificant, because in that way they are sharing in the glory and power of Frederick the Great, and Peter, and Charles V, and Suleiman the Magnificent.

Yet all nations are made up of individuals, and not of kings. The causes of the present war are not personal, nor national, nor even racial; every Power at war wants something which it has not, whether territory in Europe, or colonies, or influence in Asia, or world domination. The peoples and their governments are simply parts of the same national organizations; neither can be separated from the other, and the war can be understood only if we see that the present state of things is the resultant of forces, ambitions, and rivalries which have been going on for centuries and which will not cease when peace is made.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A MONTHLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

THE PROBLEM OF RAILWAY RATES

THE IMPORTANCE OF A SCIENTIFIC AND PERMANENT SOLUTION. SHOULD A "TRANSPORTATION LABORATORY" BE ESTABLISHED?

THE problem of protecting the rights of the individual by orderly and just government is as old as or older than history. It has not yet been solved, and in the last hundred years has become increasingly complex through the advance of physical science and the application of new mechanical, financial, industrial, and social inventions. Every one understands what is meant by mechanical inventions, but few appreciate that the same sort of resourcefulness which has produced the steam-engine and the telephone has evolved, when applied to finance, the limited company, the clearing-house, the modern bank, and the system of mortgaging posterity that we call a National debt, and has invented, when directed toward the industral and social problems of modern civilization, the trades union, the eight-hour and child labor laws, the mutual savings bank, life insurance, old age and unemployment pensions, and the workmen's compensation act. All these things are the product of the last hundred years.

The idea of preventing a man from working as long as he liked, or of making the community pay him when he was out of a job, would have been quite as unthinkable in the eighteenth century as were private fortunes of a billion dollars, national debts of ten billions, monthly bank clearings of one hundred billions, the wireless telegraph, the aeroplane, and a railway system comprising 245,000 miles of track and capitalized at twenty billion dollars.

These things have created new opportunities and new rights for the individual, in the pursuit and exercise of which the Government must protect him; and, conversely, there are new obligations of social duty and re-

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straint for every one, the discharge of which the Government must enforce.

Inevitably the functions of government have been multiplied, the orbit of complete individual independence has been contracted, and the theories of collectivism have found a wider acceptance and application.

We are this year celebrating the centenary of George Stephenson's first locomotive, the traction engine that in its subsequent development has made possible the railway system of 1915.

This railway system, in its manifold relations to the people, presents what is undoubtedly the most important politico-economic problem confronting the Government to-day.

The railways of the United States represent an investment equal to about one-seventh of the Nation's wealth. Their revenue is about three times that of the National Government. They have about seventeen hundred thousand employees, upon whose wages at least seven million persons are dependent. The trade directly generated by their disbursements is an enormous portion of our commerce, and every man, woman, and child is more or less affected by their management and the cost of the transportation they provide. Under any scheme of government such an important factor in the life of the people would inevitably have become the subject of political discussion, and it is surprising that in a democracy where the use of individual drinking-cups and nine-foot sheets is decreed by law the control of the railways by the Government should not be more absolute than it has thus far become. Long before any control was attempted, and while railway corporations were still considered as privileged to be almost lawless, their securities had become in the aggregate such a preponderant portion of the invested wealth of the country that all legislation which restricted the independence of railway managers was difficult.

Nevertheless, progress has been made in applying the theory that the railways are the creatures of the State, and in some cases the very bitterness of the opposition has provoked the adoption of measures that were extreme and unfair.

To-day the railways of America are forcibly held within a prism the sides of which, like Balzac's "magic skin," are gradually contracting. On one side there is the pressure of rate control by legislatures and commissions; on another, the ever-increasing demands of labor; and on the third, the world-wide advance in interest rates consequent upon the wealth-wasting war in Europe.

It seems futile to hope for any real abatement of the pressure exerted by these three sets of influences. The rate of interest which capital can command is dictated by events far beyond the control of the railways, and the impairment of credit from which they suffer through diminished earnings leaves them more impotent than ever to resist the demands of the money-lenders.

In a republic where universal suffrage prevails and a majority of the voters are wage-earners it is idle to rail against the influence of the labor vote.

Government by majority would not exist if the labor vote did not prevail, and any reduction in the wages paid railway employees can come only through the travail of an economic depression that will painfully distress the entire country and be a cure worse than the disease.

An advance in rates that will offset the higher cost of labor and of money is therefore necessary that the railways may live; but there seems to be but little chance that public opinion or the judgment of the rate-making commissions will support the advance required.

It is not that either the public or the commissions would be niggard in allowing fair payment to the railways for the service performed, but that no one knows, or can ascertain, the cost of that service.

All we know is that aggregate gross earnings, less expenses, are insufficient to pay interest and dividends on the outstanding capitalization in bonds, notes, and stocks, and provide for proper maintenance and reasonable expansion.

It is not known whether the capitalization has any fair relation to the cost or present value of the railways, or whether they are extravagantly or economically operated.

It is true that a previous Congress passed a bill providing for the Federal valuation of all inter-State railways, but this work will not be completed for years, and there is already disagreement as to the factors that should be taken into consideration in making the appraisement. It is as yet undecided whether the value of the franchise should be treated as belonging to the railway or the State which granted it, and whether the cost of abandoned roadway or experimental work should

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be included in the sum allowed as the value of the lines now in use.

How to treat the increment in value attributable to the increase in population which the railways have made possible, or the heavy promotion expenses which were paid to get money for new railways, are other questions that call for settlement before even the basis of Federal valuation can be agreed upon. Many of these questions are recondite and academic, but they go nevertheless to the very heart of the problem involved, which, briefly stated, is: Shall the value upon which the railways are entitled to earn a profit be the present cost of replacement, or the actual cost of construction and extension from the commencement, when the science of engineering and the machinery of finance were much cruder, and therefore more expensive, than they are to-day?

In considering the cost of operation it is equally difficult to reach a conclusion that will be a finality of undisputed fairness.

What is a fair salary for a railway president? Should railways advertise, and to what extent? Is it sound policy to operate dining-cars at a loss or provide accommodations that are more luxurious than the law demands? Are fast freight lines or private freight and passenger cars profitable or unprofitable? These are all questions which no one is able to answer with scientific certitude.

Most railway managers insist that passenger traffic, and especially commutation business, yield no direct profit at present rates, but they admit that passengers must be carried, because a railway line without population would be valueless. Where is the happy mean to be established between the necessary and unnecessary passenger service?

Then, too, there is the issue raised by Mr. Minnis, counsel of the Wabash Railroad, in his recent colloquy with Mr. Clements, of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Mr. Minnis insisted that the railways should be allowed to charge rates that would enable them to sustain their financial credit, and Mr. Clements asked whether these rates should be made sufficiently high to cover the cost of immoral mismanagement or unmoral capitalization from which many railways have suffered in the past and with which some of them are still afflicted. The endless vista of debate thus opened up discourages the hope of an immediate settlement of the question.

The complexity of the rate problem is, however, the most difficult phase of the whole matter.

Books have been written and many more will doubtless be written in regard to the classification of freight and the rates to be charged upon each class. Broadly speaking, freight rates were originally established upon the principle of charging "all the traffic would bear," and the tariffs which obtain to-day continue to be for the most part an application of this principle. There are many men of sound and disinterested judgment who believe that this is the only practicable method of making the cost of transportation responsive to the law of supply and demand, and there is much to be said in support of their views. If the railways were permitted to compete in the matter of freight rates, the rivalry in classification as well as in the basic rate would doubtless soon result in an empirical ascertainment of the minimum necessary to solvent financial existence.

Public opinion as expressed in law has, however, decreed that there shall be no competition except that of service between the railways of America, and the schedules of freight rates contain and preserve all the mistakes and eccentricities that have from time to time been introduced either in ignorance or in response to some powerful or meretricious influence. The result is a tariff full of all sorts of inequality and injustice, not only in the relativity of rates on different commodities to the same points, but in the rates on the same commodity to different points. The predominant elements in the cost of transportation, namely, cost of maintenance and operation, cost of motive power and cars, terminal expenses, density of traffic, length of haul, and liability incurred by loss or delay, have never been scientifically "weighted" in their relation to each class of traffic, and there is in consequence no standard by which to measure the value of the service performed.

In nearly every other department of human activity the value of energy is determined by competition or, in the case of service that is essential to society, by laws based upon scientific or laboratory experience. When ocean freight rates fall below the profitable minimum, ships are laid up. When the price of wheat or cotton declines to less than the cost of production, smaller crops are planted. Even the cost of labor fluctuates in response to the same law of

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supply and demand. Where it is suspended by statute, as in the case of public utility corporations that furnish gas, electricity, or water, the charge permitted has been in nearly every case fixed by a reasonably scientific determination of the cost under average conditions.

In the case of the railways no such scientific ascertainment of cost has been attempted, unless, indeed, Federal valuation, as yet barely commenced, is intended to afford a basis for it twenty years hence.

It is highly improbable that public opinion will support any advance in rates that is not based upon a scientific demonstration of the inadequacy of the present tariff. On the other hand, it is altogether probable that, if the gross income of the railways is not increased, many of them will shortly be in the hands of receivers, and the credit fabric that is superimposed upon their securities will collapse, bringing about a commercial depression from which we shall be many years in recovering.

The imminence of such a contingency is leading many men to conclude that Government ownership of railways is the lesser of two evils, and they have ceased to oppose it, although they recognize its political danger and economic unsoundness.

There are others who continue to believe that Government ownership of the railways would be the beginning of the end of the Republic, and are sincerely patriotic in their willingness to face any alternative rather than acquiesce in such a proposal.

Prolonged and inconclusive agitation promises to result unless some middle way can be found to solve the problem.

This solution, to be satisfying and permanent, must not be a compromise that will leave principles undetermined, but must be scientifically just and evolve a standard that can be fairly applied to the future as well as to the present.

The logic of the situation would seem to suggest that as a temporary and emergency measure the railways should be immediately allowed such an advance in the present tariff as will enable them to maintain their credit until a more intelligent measure of relief can be devised. Meantime Congress and the Inter-State Commerce Commission might consider the establishment or acquisition of a "transportation laboratory," in which the costs of the business economically conducted can be accurately ascertained.

The Department of Agriculture already operates several experimental farms, notably the one at Experiment, Georgia, where agricultural problems are being worked out.

The Government owns the Philippine and Panama railways, and has authorized the expenditure of $35,000,000 for the construction of a railway in Alaska. Conclusions deduced from the operations of these properties would, however, be valueless in their application to the domestic transportation problem. It is, however, entirely practicable for Congress to authorize the Inter-State Commerce Commission to buy control of a typical and moderate-sized railway system in the United States and operate it at current rates.

The profit or loss measured in relation to the intrinsic value as determined by subsequent appraisement would provide a fairly accurate idea of the cost of transportation, and the results could be worked out with all the refinement necessary for the solution of a complex problem.

If it should be demonstrated that the Government could not provide transportation as cheaply as private corporations, the ghost of Government-owned railways would cease to haunt the vision of the conservative, and justice would speedily be had for the capital now invested in railway securities.

If, on the other hand, it were made plain that, upon the basis of a fair valuation and economical management, present rates were adequate or excessive, a new standard of efficiency would be set for the railway managers of the country to which they could no doubt conform.

In any case, darkness would give way to light, ignorance to intelligence, guesswork to scientific accuracy, and popular prejudice to approximately impartial justice.

The effect upon the credit of the railways and the market value of their securities could hardly fail to be salutary, and the abyss of depression now confronting them would be bridged by the temporary relief afforded, and thereafter permanently closed by financial engineering that would be sound and safe because the data upon which its calculations were based had been scientifically verified.

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THE NEW BOOKS

Japan To-Day and To-Morrow. By Hamilton W. Mabie. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

There is no attempt in this book (several chapters of which were first published in The Outlook) to describe the present conditions in Japan so far as its organization of industry, finance, administration, education, and its navy and army are concerned. It is not an addition to the books of information about modern Japan; nor is it, on the other hand, confined to descriptions of old Japan. It is an attempt to interpret the Japanese spirit and genius as it is reflected in what the writer calls "the vital landscape of Japan;" its architecture, its religion, its habits of life, its ideals. This is done, in a way, indirectly, by describing various centers of life which have been significant in the history of the Empire. The writer says that what Americans need more than anything else is, not information about Japan, but an understanding of the Japanese spirit and character, of Japanese aims and ideals. It is these primary things in Japanese life behind its activities in all forms which the book endeavors to interpret.

Clear Waters. By A. G. Bradley. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

As the beauties of British scenery are inexhaustible, so the books of leisurely and appreciative description by A. G. Bradley bid fair to continue. The days he has spent trout-fishing in Wales, the West Country, and the Scottish Borderland stretch back years, and began when he was an eager, active boy, seizing every chance to learn the angling art. This beautiful book will appeal to every fisherman; its graceful ease of style will please his wife and daughter; and we hope all three will sympathize with Mr. Bradley's protest against "the dreadful discords" that shatter the gentle harmonies of spring in Wordsworth's country when the defiant scorcher makes a race-course of the shores of Ullswater. The illustrations of streams, lakes, and hills bring back memories of long, quiet days in rural England.

Lucas' Annual. Edited by E. V. Lucas. The Macmillan Company, New York. 75c.

This is a composite book, made up largely of humorous selections put together by the skillful and experienced hand of Mr. Lucas, who has drawn freely on Barrie, Galsworthy, Dobson, Hugh Walpole, Maurice Hewlett, and others for good examples of British humor. The contents are not confined, however, to fiction. There are gleanings from the field of literature which to a great many readers will have more interest than the stories. A dozen new letters of Stevenson appear for the first time; and there is a letter from Browning to a pushing writer who had undertaken to write the biography of Mrs. Browning shortly after her death without consulting her husband. There is also a frank letter of criticism of "Men and Women," sent to Browning in 1855 by John Ruskin, in which the writer goes so far as to call the poems "absolutely and literally the most amazing set of conundrums that were ever proposed to me."

Cruise of the Janet Nichol among the South Sea Islands. A Diary by Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.75.

The unconventional, truly simple life of Robert Louis Stevenson and Mrs. Stevenson is reflected in the diary of the latter kept during a cruise among the South Sea Islands in 1890. The sympathetic understanding and kindly help given by these two welcome visitors to their island friends, and the affection in which all the natives held them, show just what may be accomplished when we are sufficiently broad-minded to see beyond our own habits and opinions. The pleasant narrative of unusual events is fully illustrated by photographs.

Frémont and '49. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $4.50.

Mr. Dellenbaugh's title is distinctly misleading. There is comparatively little in his bulky book regarding the year of the great California "gold rush." But one will readily overlook this in view of the excellence of his study of the events connected with the prior exploration and occupation of California, and of the personality and achievements of the California path-finder, Frémont. That a really good biography of Frémont was needed will be conceded by historians, and Mr. Dellenbaugh's book seems to meet this need. It is at once critical and appreciative, not blind to Frémont's weaknesses, but rightly insisting that his virtues and the services he rendered his country far outweigh his shortcomings.

As to the part Frémont played in the conquest of California—always a disputed point historically—Mr. Dellenbaugh takes the view that Frémont was acting in accordance with the wishes, though not the direct instructions, of his Government, and that by fostering the Bear Flag Revolt he undoubtedly made it certain that California would be an American territory, not a British possession. The story of Frémont's exploring expeditions in the central Far West as well as on the Pacific Slope is also told in copious detail, and with the aid of numerous maps and photographs, which add not a little to the value of the work.

Fairy Tales. By Hans Andersen. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.

This latest of the many editions of these delightful tales for children is characterized by its excellence of physical make-up. It is a quarto, not too large, well bound, presenting a clear page, and printed from very distinct type. The illustrations by Louis Rhead are well executed and do not lack imagination—an element which should never be absent from the illustra-

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tion in any book for children. The volume has also the distinction of an introduction by Mr. Howells.

Psychology General and Applied. By Hugo Münsterberg. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.75.

Easily the outstanding feature of Professor Münsterberg's new text-book in psychology is the section devoted to what he calls "purposive psychology." Hitherto Professor Münsterberg has been characteristically impatient with those who insist that a "soulless psychology" is a futile psychology. The problem of the soul, he has dogmatically asserted, is not a psychological but a religious and philosophical problem. Now, following the example of William McDougall, he gives equally emphatic approval to the view he formerly opposed. It must be said, though, that the soul which he recognizes is a pretty thin and pale affair. "The soul is the self conceived as a system of purposes which remains identical with itself in developing its acts as real experiences in response to the acts of others and to the objects of the world." This, of course, is scarcely the soul—the animating, indwelling, governing entity—which most of us "conceive." Still it certainly marks an advance in the psychological evolution of Professor Münsterberg. For the rest, his book is chiefly noteworthy by reason of its lucid exposition of the possibilities of applied psychology, and its clear restatement of the principles of that "causal psychology" which to its author used to be the whole of psychology.

Amateur Garden (The). By George W. Cable. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Some of Mr. Cable's charming papers on gardening are published in a beautifully illustrated book that will delight all lovers of nature. Back of the plea for beauty lies the author's purpose, so well carried out in Northampton, of cultivating the taste of the ordinary dwellers in our small towns. Home culture and the recognition of what he calls "elastic wants" is the gospel he preaches. He is good to quote, but it is better to read him in his chosen place, and our advice is to listen to the Amateur Gardener.

New Testament in the Twentieth Century (The). By the Rev. Maurice Jones, B.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

In this survey of recent Christological and historical criticism of the New Testament a most competent British scholar gives a full and lucid critical account of the stage it has reached, with his estimate of its net result thus far and its present tendency. Part I is mainly concerned with the various schemes, reconstructive and destructive, intent on a new Christology. This is the present "storm-center" of criticism, promising to rival the classic controversy of the fourth century. Part II is a survey of the work of historical or "higher" criticism upon the books of the New Testament. Here the center of interest has shifted from the now generally settled questions of authorship, authenticity, and dates to the religious meaning of the writers. Here "it is the question of 'personality' in Jesus Christ that is of supreme significance." In this field of religion and theology the remarkable advance of psychology promises to be of unique importance. Another factor of influence in our estimate of the New Testament and of Christianity is the wealth of material gathered in the fields of comparative religion and archæology.

A very decided mark upon our conceptions of Christianity is resulting from all this; not such, however, as need disquiet anxious souls. Mr. Jones's estimate of the present situation and its outlook is conservatively progressive and hopeful. Historical criticism in digging down to reality has not impaired religious values.

Evolution of Early Christianity (The). By Shirley Jackson Case. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2.25.

In this volume of studies of the environmental forces which during the first century of Christianity contributed to its evolution Professor Case has made an important contribution to a subject needing it. Did Christianity begin as a new religion complete and static—as Catholics and most Protestants believe—or rather as vital and developmental? That it was a vital movement from the start, disclosing its genius in its expanding life, is clear from this searching review of its record in the New Testament. Its first disciples, all of them Jews, were conscious of no departure from their hereditary faith. The hostility of its official representatives to them seems much like that of the Anglican Church to the group within it nicknamed Methodists, and, like these, the Christian group was soon forced into the antagonism reflected in the Gospels. How its rich heritage in Israel's prophets and psalmists was further enriched in the course of its appeal to the Gentile world by appropriating, like Paul at Athens, whatever truth had been taught by Greek sages; how its original appeal to the lowly masses, as in the Synoptic Gospels, thus gained way among the educated, and first took form in the Fourth Gospel; how the many-sided movement with the spirit of the risen Christ at its heart laid hold of a wide range of vital interests in its social environment, and met them by conserving, heightening, and supplementing current religious values—all this Professor Case has admirably and fully shown.

Such a history is illuminating. The modern Church needs to learn from the experience of the early Church to make religion an affair of life and growth commensurate with the needs of the present generation. In the last analysis, says Professor Case, the uniqueness of Christianity consists in the use which Christians make of their spiritual energy to answer the religious demands of their age.

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BY THE WAY

"The war was not discussed at all," is the statement made about the annual convention of an automobile supply company. The company's business in this country is of such magnitude that war talk was tabooed as interfering with the work of the meeting. Three hundred salesmen and sales managers attended this convention of a single company.

The record for long attendance at a college is probably held by a student at Columbia University in New York City who has spent twenty-seven years in study. He has, according to the New York "Times," an income of $5,000 a year from a trust fund so long as he stays at the University, and this perhaps accounts in some measure for his devotion to learning. He has already, according to report, attained the degrees of LL.B., LL.M., A.B., and A.M., and is still seeking other scholastic honors.

Manager Gatti-Casazza, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, has succeeded in enlisting a number of German singers for the ensuing opera season in New York. He says that he had to get a special release for these artists from the Kaiser, to whom he represented the necessity of keeping German art and music alive in "this great American country" during the present troublous times.

The best horseman is the man with a good temper, writes a contributor to "Rider and Driver." "The principal way to ride a horse and to train him is never to lose your temper." The beginner should start with a horse that is not a beginner; a good seat is acquired by learning to sit in the middle of the saddle; sit square to the front and very upright; don't use the reins to hold on by, but only to guide the horse—are some of the admonitions given.

Mr. George W. Perkins, of the Food Supply Committee of New York City, in a circular on the subject of "Fish," says that the habit of eating fish on Fridays only should be changed, so that prices may be lowered. If dealers sell fish on one day only, they will charge more to pay expenses during the idle part of the week. He also advises the purchaser to get the "trimmings" when a fish is bought, for from these an excellent soup may be made.

One does not need to go to the Far East to find choice examples of "English as she is wrote" by Oriental learners of that difficult language. Here is a specimen from an advertisement in a New York daily paper:

Japanese, young, expert cook, generally willing to be useful, as if your fingers, hands and legs. Address Useful Hands.

The use of darkness to aid the effect of tragedy is one of Shakespeare's methods, says Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch in the "North American Review." He cites four plays in proof—"Hamlet," which opens on the dark battlements of Elsinore; "Othello," which opens with the mutter of voices in a dark street; "Lear," "the total impression of which is of a dark heath;" "Macbeth," which is replete with night scenes and "black and midnight hags."

A writer in "Yachting" describes a type of boat in use on Lake Michigan which is capsizable but at the same time non-sinkable. The speedy and seaworthy little craft occasionally blows over in a sharp squall, but can easily be righted. "The whole operation, including the turnover," according to the description, "might take three minutes, but that would be extreme." One of these boats which capsized during a speed test was righted so quickly that it succeeded in winning the race.

A modern hive and the right type of bee practically do away with bee troubles, says the "Progressive Farmer," in advocating a wider use of honey. With sugar at eight cents a pound, it says, honey, which costs only the initial outlay of hive and bees, ought to be extensively made and used by farmers both for selling and for home consumption.

A bag of pennies which was offered by the "American Printer" as a prize for the queerest example of printing submitted was awarded to an exhibit from Diggins, Missouri. The Diggins masterpiece described the artist who produced it as "Photographer, Job Printer, and Cream Buyer." A picture of the department store conducted by this village genius ought to win another prize.

A religious journal gives this as an actual church bulletin posted during the summer: "No Sunday-school. No evening service. Morning service in chapel. Subject: 'Leave Us Alone.'" Visitors would probably be inclined to take the advice literally.

Brooklyn children have provided the nucleus of a zoölogical collection by buying various animals for this purpose. Several lions, bears, monkeys, a hyena, a leopard, and other wild beasts that are general favorites of the small folks have been secured in this way—of course with the help of the children's parents and other lovers of children and animals.

A former resident of New Zealand, writing about the bad reputation in this country of the starling and the sparrow, says: "In New Zealand we regard the starling as the most useful of all birds, as it eats only insects from the ground and ticks off the sheep's backs. The sparrow also, which in some places is in bad odor, we consider destructive only when there are no grubs or caterpillars. He earns his keep, for when we killed him off the caterpillars ate all our crops."

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